PEWTER PLATE.

H. J. L. J. MASSÉ

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PEWTER PLATE

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A HISTORICAL & DESCRIPTIVE HANDBOOK

BY

H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A.

LONDON
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PREFACE

THIS book was begun some years ago at the suggestion of the late Mr. Gleeson White, who placed at my disposal some small store of notes collected by Mr. Langton Dennis, and some drawings and sketches by Mr. Dennis and Mr. E. Guy Dawber.

The main object throughout has been the presentation of information, gathered from many sources, as to the alloy itself, its history and composition, its use both in the home and in the church, the methods of its ornamentation, its gradual decay and attempted revival. To illustrate many of the points raised, special photographs have been made of objects mostly in private collections, many also in our own and in foreign museums.

To the editor of "The Burlington Magazine" I am indebted for permission to use the blocks of the illustrations on pages 157, 163, 177, 181. They are particularly good blocks, and were made from special photographs taken by Messrs. Walker and Cockerell. To the editor of "The Connoisseur" I am indebted for the blocks on pages 90, 91, 98, 112, 196, and to the editor of "The Gentlewoman" for the blocks of some of Colonel Croft-Lyons' specimens of pewter. Messrs. Firmin-Didot of Paris kindly allowed me to reproduce the illustrations from M. Corroyer's book on Mont Saint-Michel on pages 88, 141; and Monsieur Motteroz allowed me to reproduce the illustrations on pages 61, 148 from Havard's "Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement." Messrs. Fenton of New Oxford Street kindly lent me the photograph of the various types of pewter vessels reproduced on page 106. The Society of Antiquaries of London have kindly allowed the blocks on pages 157, 254 to be reproduced.

To the Worshipful Company of Pewterers I am indebted for permission to give in Appendix A a description, as accurately as may be, of the legible touches on the five touch-plates now preserved at the Pewterers' Hall, and reproduced in Mr. Welch's "History of the Pewterers' Company"; also for permission to reproduce a list of the Freemen of the Company up to 1824, the date of the last touch on Touch-plate V. To Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who took infinite pains in revising the proofs of Appendix A, I am indebted for many hints and suggestions embodied in my transcript of the touches. These touches are separately indexed with a view of saving time in the finding of any particular touch.

The various collectors to whom I made application deserve very special thanks for the generous way in which they, even though perfect strangers to me, placed their collections at my disposal. From all of them, with one exception, I met with unvarying courtesy, and by their kindness the book is the richer in illustrations. Among them I must particularly thank M. A. F. de Navarro, Mr. George Frampton, R.A., Colonel Croft-Lyons, Mr. W. H. Clarkson, Mr. E. Prioleau Warren, Mr. Charles F. C. Buckmaster, and Mr. J. Algernon Bastard.

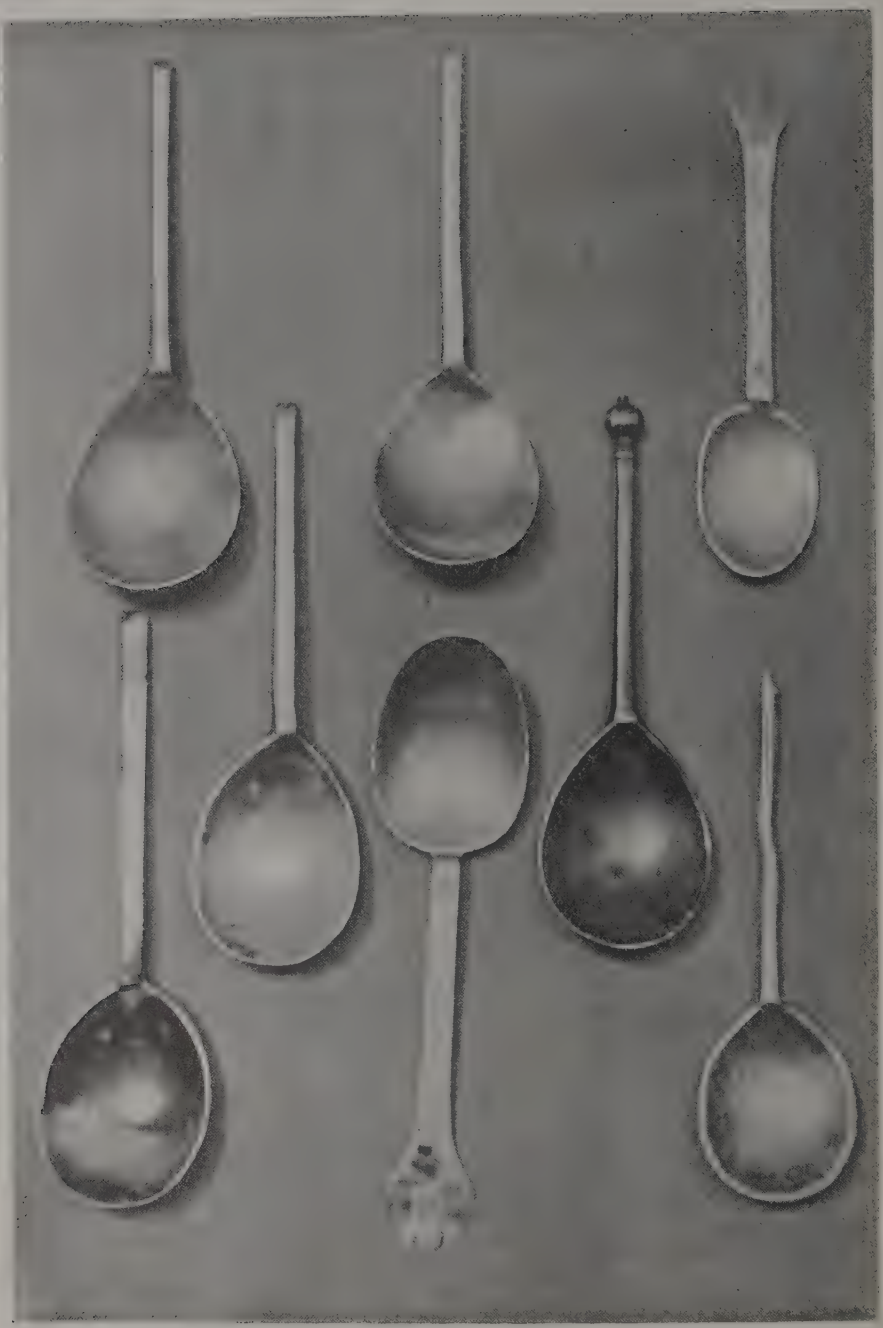
The list of marks is not, and does not pretend to be, complete; but with a view to making the list more useful in a future edition, I should be glad to receive rubbings or descriptions of any marks which, though described as illegible in Appendix A, may be perfectly legible on some existing specimens. In this way many conjectures of my own may be either corrected or confirmed.

Some readers may be disappointed at finding no description of the elaborate specimens by Briot and Enderlein. This goldsmith's work in pewter is admirably described by Herr Demiani in his book on the subject, and to it students and collectors are referred.

H. J. L. J. Massé.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Descriptive List of Illustrations	ix
I.	Introductory	3
II.	History and Composition of Pewter	10
III.	The Pewterer's Craft	30
IV.	Methods of Manufacture	55
V.	Domestic Use of Pewter	66
VI.	Church Use of Pewter	85
VII.	The Cleaning and Repairing of Pewter	101
VIII.	Drinking Cups and Tankards	105
IX.	Pewter, Old and New	114
X.	The Ornamentation of Pewter	122
XI.	Miscellaneous Articles in Pewter	139
XII.	Regulations concerning Pewterers	148
XIII.	Pewter in various Museums	159
XIV.	Pewter Marks	189
Appendix A.	Touches at Pewterers' Hall	199
,, B.	Miscellaneous Marks	245
,, C.	Foreign Marks (from various sources)	255
,, D.	Foreign Pewterers	257
,, E.	Bibliography of Pewter	265
List of Freemen of the Pewterers' Company up to 1824		269
Index to Names given in Transcript of Touches		281
Index		291



SOME ENGLISH SPOONS
C. F. C. Buckmaster

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SOME REPRESENTATIVE SPECIMENS OF SPOONS OF ENGLISH MANUFACTURE. (1) The spoon on the top at the left was found in the Thames; mark, I. H. (2) Mark, I. V. with crossed keys. (3) I. H., in a shield, with date '77. In the lower row, on the left, (4) 1668, with W. E. (5) E. H. and 1664, in a small beaded circle. This spoon was dredged up with (1) from the Thames. (6) A rat-tail spoon, with mark, I. N. and '78. (7) Pre-Elizabethan, probably of the time of Henry VIII.; mark, N. E., with a cardinal's hat above the letters, all in a beaded circle. (8) An Elizabethan spoon of the middle of the sixteenth century. Found in the Crypt of Gloucester Cathedral. The mark is not clear, but it seems to consist of a tiny rose, surrounded by a border of still smaller roses. (H. M.)[1] (*C. F. C. Buckmaster.*) P. viii.

A DRESSERFUL OF PEWTER, showing various types of dishes, both plain and shaped; also dishes with moulded edges. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 2.

The small coffer in the centre is an early French inkstand, with added stamped ornament.

PEWTER JUG with lid, seventeenth century. This specimen was recovered from the Seine. It is $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches high. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 4.

SALTCELLAR. Square base, fluted bowl, and beaded rim. Very sonorous metal, in excellent preservation. (H. M.) (*Hugh Bryan.*) P. 5.

BUTTER DISH, according to Mr. Bastard, of Malay work. Lid

[1] H. M. signifies that the photograph was taken by the writer.

decorated with three differently shaped panels containing birds and flowers. The whole upper surface has at one time been gilded, the lower half being quite plain; so too is the interior. Diameter $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches; height $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Marks none. (H. M.) (*H. J. L J. Massé.*) P. 6.

QUART POT of English make, with portrait medallion of Queen Anne, from a coin inset in the lid. (H. M.) (*W. Niven.*) P. 7.

BRIOT'S EWER. Subject, "Susannah and the Elders." Height $11\frac{3}{16}$ inches. This ewer has been richly gilded. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 13.

ADAM AND EVE SALVER. Similar in idea to Briot's work, but different in treatment. This plate is attributed to Gaspar Enderlein. In the centre is the Temptation of Adam and Eve. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 15.

BRIOT'S WELL-KNOWN SALVER OR DISH. Subject of central medallion, "Temperantia," surrounded by panels representing the Four Elements. On the rim the Sciences with their emblems. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 17.

Specimens are to be found in various museums, *e.g.*, the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, and Cologne Museum.

TWO-HANDLED CUP of English work, in the possession of Robert Baird. (*From a drawing by Raymond Bennett.*) P. 21.

PEWTER DISH, 10 inches diameter, with domed boss in the centre. Subject, the people trying to escape from the Flood. On the rim are six panels: (1) The Spirit brooding on the face of the waters; (2) The Creation of the Firmament: (3) The Creation of Eve; (4) Adam and Eve in Eden; (5) The Fall; (6) The Expulsion from Eden. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 23.

A KAISERTELLER. In centre a medallion of Ferdinand III.; six panels in the rim, each containing a mounted equestrian figure of an Elector. Nuremberg work, sixteenth century.

Maker's mark, A.. Diameter $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 25.

A similar plate is in the British Museum with mark G. H.

LARGE EWER AND TANKARD. The ewer has proved to be too heavy for the foot, and has subsided, thus giving a squat appearance to the whole; and owing to a fall the handle has been forced out of position. This ewer is the companion piece to the "Temperantia" dish or salver (p. 17). The arabesques are very rich, and beautifully modelled.

The canette or tankard, of the sixteenth century, is simple and dignified. On the lid is a very pretty border of arabesques. On the body are some reliefs with rather heavy foliage, with a border of arabesques above and below. The purchase and domed lid are well wrought. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 27.

SMALL PLATE, $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches diameter. Four panels in rim: (1) Creation; (2) The Garden of Eden; (3) The Temptation; (4) The Expulsion from Paradise. In central medallion a figure (head and shoulders), and below, the legend, in old German: DRINCK : VND | IS : GOTS : NIC | HT : VOR : GIS (*i.e.*, Drink and eat, forget not God). A well-made plate. Nuremberg work, end of sixteenth century. Maker's mark, I. K. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 31.

CHALICE AND PATEN. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 33.

AN ARRAY OF ENGLISH PEWTER of various dates and designs. It will be noticed how the pepperpots, cream-jugs, and teapots were modelled after the silver-ware in use at the time. (*W. H. Clarkson.*) P. 37.

A TANKARD AND A STANDARD MEASURE. Tankard 9 inches high; diameter 3 inches at top of body, 5 inches at base. Mark, a crown and two crossed staves or swords. The measure is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches diameter at base. It is stamped with punches for the years '78, '87, '88, '89, '92, '93, '94, '96. On the lid in shaped shields I. D. B. Mark, a black-letter b. ? Bruges. (H. M.) (*E. Prioleau Warren.*) P. 39.

Buckle. (*Drawn by Langton Dennis.*) P. 41.

An English Measure, in the same style as the Tappit Hens (*vide* p. 112). (*Colonel Croft-Lyons. Block lent by permission of the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman."*) P. 43.

Jacobean Jug and Measure. Graceful shape with shaped lid, and a rudimentary spout apparently formed by compressing the edge of the lip between the fingers. The handle has suffered in shape. (*Colonel Croft-Lyons. Block lent by permission of the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman."*) P. 45.

Paten from Ashill, near Ilminster. It is disfigured with a rusty efflorescence, in addition to the external rust-stains, probably due to some decomposition of the antimony. Marks on face in four shields: (1) l. r.; (2) c. r.;[1] (3) l. r.; (4) illegible; on back, large crowned rose and [c]lothyer. (H. M.) (The Rector of Ashill.) P. 56.

A Norwegian Tankard. The lid bears a cast from a coin with the head of Christian IV., King of Norway and Denmark. The handle is enriched with cast ornament, and the sides of the pot with five bands of pricked ornament, not bounded by any line, and almost entirely obliterated by wear. Christian IV. died in 1648, but the pot—a tankard fitted with pegs inside—is perhaps fifty years later than that date. The only mark in it bears P. M. V. and a date, of which 17. . alone is legible. (H. M.) P. 57.

Two Saltcellars. That on the left is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, 3 inches base, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches top. Ornamentation of beads only. Mark, Justice (?) with a sword in her right hand and scales in her left. (*F. Inigo Thomas.*) That on the right bears as mark, in a small plain circle, a flower, slipped, with two leaves, one initial legible, a B, and date 1698. Height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of base $3\frac{5}{16}$ inches; diameter of salt-container $1\frac{3}{16}$ inches. (H.M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 59.

Two specimens of a larger build are in the British Museum.

[1] l. r., lion rampant; c. r., crowned rose.

PEWTERER AT WORK ON HIS LATHE, which is turned by an assistant. (*By permission from Havard's "Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement."*) P. 61.

SOME PEWTERERS' TOOLS. P. 62.

GUILD CUP, now belonging to the Art-Workers' Guild, London. All the ornament is wriggled work, the inscriptions only being engraved. Legends on cup: DIE TOBACK SPINNER and VIVAT SIE SOLLN LEBEN. Marks, (1, 2) M. HP., with the emblems of Faith, Hope, and Charity; (3) three towers on a bridge. (H. M.) (*Art-Workers' Guild.*) P. 63.

A MEASURE. Drawn by Langton Dennis. (*King's College, Cambridge.*) P. 67.

TWO CANDLESTICKS. Of English make; ordinary domestic type. No marks. (H. M.) (*H. J. L. J. Massé.*) P. 69.

PLATE. Diameter 7 inches. Subject, Christ in glory in the centre. On the rim are some of the Apostles with their emblems. (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 71.

A JACOBEAN CANDLESTICK. Eight inches high on octagonal base; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. Beaded ornament round the octagonal base and the cape; running ornament of grapes in clusters on the flat part of the foot. Mark on the top rim, R. B. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 72.

TWO FRENCH CANDLESTICKS. Very graceful and well made. One fluted with oval base, 9 inches high. Marks, in a cartouche, F. A. H.; an angel with scales in his left hand, and trailing garland of roses in his right. Date 1799.

The other is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high; square base, 3 inches. Beaded ornament and festoons on top of plain round pillar. Mark, a female figure in an oval cartouche with . . . NN above her head, at foot I. C. E. and date 1786. (H. M.) (*G. Frampton, R.A.*) P. 73.

RESTORATION OF A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN KITCHEN. About 80 per cent. of the utensils is made of pewter. The

whole of the objects at the far end, and at the end not shown here, is of pewter. (*Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg.*) P. 77.

VARIOUS TYPES OF HANDLES for eared dishes or porringers. Redrawn from rubbings. P. 79.

EAR OR HANDLE OF CUPPING DISH, now in Reading Museum. 1671. (*From a sketch by Langton Dennis.*) P. 79.

A JACOBEAN CANDLESTICK of peculiar form, especially in the ornamentation of the stem. (*Colonel Croft-Lyons.*) P. 80.

A BLOOD PORRINGER OR CUPPING DISH. Seventeenth-century English work. (*Colonel Croft-Lyons. Blocks lent by the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman."*) P. 80.

A "QUAIGH." (*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur."*) P. 81.

ELIZABETHAN SPOON. P. 82.

SPOON, with ornamented knob on the handle; also figured in Bapst. (*M. Jules Brateau, Paris.*) P. 83.

A MASTER SALTCELLAR. Mark, in a lozenge with beaded edge, I. F., with two fleurs-de-lys. (H. M.) (*C. F. C. Buckmaster.*) P. 84.

CHALICE from the Church of S. Mary, Blackheath, Surrey, near Wonersh. From the drawing it will be seen how the original casting has been worked upon and brought to its present form. It is rather a tall chalice in proportion to the size of the bowl. From the mark (an angel flying, bearing a trumpet), it was made in Brussels, and the maker's initials are I. F. B. . . . (*Reproduced from a drawing by C. Harrison Townsend.*) P. 87.

PEWTER DISC found in 1875 in the tomb of Robert de Torigni, 17th Abbot of Mont Saint-Michel. Now in the Charter-room of the Abbey. (*Reproduced by permission of Messrs. Firmin-Didot.*) P. 88.

ONE OF A PAIR OF SMALL CRUETS for sacramental use, one marked A for *aqua*, on the lid, and the other V for *vinum*. They are of French or Flemish manufacture, and are in excellent preservation. (*Hugh Bryan.*) P. 89.

TWO BÉNITIERS of Flemish workmanship. (*Blocks lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur."*) Pp. 90, 91.

FLAGON (small) at Evenley, Northamptonshire. (*From a drawing by Langton Dennis.*) P. 92.

COMMUNION PLATE from Raunds, Northamptonshire. It is inscribed RO / RI EKINS, for Robert and Richard Ekins, who were the churchwardens in 1612. Flagons 16 inches high. P. 93.

FLAGON (large) at Evenley, Northamptonshire. (*From a sketch by Langton Dennis.*) P. 94.

THREE TYPES OF CHURCH FLAGONS. Note the variety on the handles. (*From pencil sketch by Langton Dennis.*) P. 95.

FLAGON, 1635, from Lubenham Church, Leicestershire. Figured in "Church Plate of Leicestershire." P. 96.

SET OF SCOTCH COMMUNION PLATE, with a laver in the centre. (*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur."*) P. 97.

PLATE from Inverask Church. (*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur."*) P. 98.

CHALICE AND FLAGON, late eighteenth century, with elaborate handle. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 99.

CENTRAL ORNAMENT (from a rubbing) in the alms-dish at Brington, 1653. P. 103.

TYPES OF TANKARDS of various sizes. (*Photograph lent by Messrs. Fenton and Sons.*) P. 106.

TANKARD, with lid rather flat, plate-like. Curious purchase formed of two geese beak to beak. The ornament is mainly

pointillé, with some wriggled work and traces of engraving. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of base $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, of top $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of lid $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. No marks. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 107.

Six Stone-pot Lids, 1520-1679. (*Now in the British Museum.*) P. 108.

Stone-pot Lid. Siegburg, undated. (*British Museum.*) P. 109.

Stone-pot Lid, with inset of coin. (*Robert Baird.*) P. 109.

Ornate Tankard, with reliefs, scrolls and strapwork. Note the weak feet. (*Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.*) P. 110.

A Ribbed Tankard, with lid and simple handle. The ornamentation consists of parallel rows of raised and moulded bands $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide. Height 7 inches; base $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter; top $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Marks none. The name Theresia is scratched on the bottom. (H. M.) (*G. Frampton, R.A.*) P. 111.

Three "Tappit Hens." The set is not uniform, but good in shape. (*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur."*) P. 112.

A German Tankard (1712). Note the very heavy knob, which is used as a purchase to raise the lid. The lid has an engraved portrait of Kaiser Wilhelm I. (H.M.) (*Hugh Bryan.*) P. 113.

A Shelf of Pewter. There are two good specimens of tappit hens. The central cup is fitted with an inner vessel, and a space for hot water. (H. M.) (*William Strang.*) P. 115.

A Tobacco-box, highly ornamented with medallions, festoons and beaded borders. (H. M.) (*E. Prioleau Warren.*) P. 117.

A Britannia-metal Flagon, as now made for aquatic competition in University in-College races. These pots are always

known as "pewters." Note the poor handle and the weak hinge, added to the completed pot. (H. M.) (*H. J. L. J. Massé.*) P. 118.

PUBLIC-HOUSE GOBLET from the Vulcan, Brockley. Mark, a horse. (*Thackeray Turner.*) P. 119.

STANDING CUP AND EWER, decorated mainly with gadroon ornament. The lions' heads were at one time fitted with medals or coins (*vide* illustration on p. 63). P. 120.

A HANDSOME AND TYPICALLY GERMAN VESSEL, built up in four sections, viz., the base and stem, lower part of body, upper part, neck and mouth. The ornament consists of incised lines and a very few simple mouldings. (*Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg.*) P. 120.

A DUTCH CHALICE, entirely ornamented with scenes in the life of Christ, in wriggled work, most expertly done. Height $6\frac{13}{16}$ inches; diameter 4 inches; at foot $3\frac{3}{10}$ inches. Mark, rose and crown; P. P. in crown. (H. M.) (*A. Toovey.*) P. 123.

SMALL BEAKER, wriggled work. Height $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches; diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Marks, a crowned rose; B. A. in the crown. (H. M.) (*E. Prioleau Warren.*) P. 124.

THREE PLATES IN RELIEF. Marks, a crowned rose, with N. D. in crown, in s. b. c.; S. Michael with a sword and shield, standing on the dragon, with letters A. J. C. (*Rev. F. R. Ellis, Much Wenlock.*) P. 125.

SMALL PLATE, entirely decorated with wriggled work, dated 1718. (H. M.) (*Miss Peacock.*) P. 126.

ALMS-DISH (Flemish work, dated 1770), with border of leaves. In the centre a heart, with lilies, M. R. (Maria Regina) and a smaller heart sacred, aflame. All the ornament is wriggled work. Diameter $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Marks, (1) a hammer crowned,

with A. P.; (2) on a shaped shield, barry of five, a lion rampant, with letters A. P. (H. M.) (*H. J. L. J. Massé.*) P. 127.

A Dish of which far too many specimens are extant. It is generally ascribed to François I., but is of Louis XV. workmanship. The salamander is cast solid, not repoussé, and the border is wrought by hand. (H. M.) P. 128.

A Tyrolean Dish, dated 1685. The engraved work has been carefully done. The bosses and part of the ornament have been repoussé-worked subsequently, some quite recently; and the maker's marks are now quite illegible. Arms of Berchtold of Breisach in the centre. Diameter $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches; rim $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. (H. M.) (*Rev. C. Goddard.*) P. 129.

A Beaker, ornamented chiefly with linework (done with a knife), wriggled and point work. Date on cup-foot, 1764. Marks, rose and crown; I. H. in crown. Height $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches; at foot $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. (H. M.) (*A Heal, Jun.*) P. 130.

Dish, in flat relief, by N. Horchaimer or Horchheimer. Nuremberg work, 1567. (*Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.*) P. 131.

An Array of Pewter, consisting of a small but interesting bénitier, two patens, two small plates, a flagon, and two very large French candlesticks. The two-handled cups were used in a Capucin monastery at Lucerne for serving out soup, etc., to mendicants. The large dish bears the name of S. Casimirus. It may be English, but the marks are illegible. (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 133.

Tankard, ornamented by being "octagonalized" in part. In many respects it resembles the Gothic tankard in the Breslau Museum, figured in G. Bapst from the "Revue des arts décoratifs." The lower part of the handle is very effective, but the feet have been altered, not for the better. (*Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg.*) P. 134.

COFFEE-POT, with lid hinged to the side. Fluted and twisted ornament. The handle was obviously intended to be covered with wicker or other material. (H. M.) (*E. P. Warren.*) P. 135.

DISH of Swiss work. Diameter 11¾ inches; rim 2¼ inches wide. Ornament all wriggled, except the two narrow borders at the edge of the booge, which are pricked. The plate is inscribed IG. S. 1688, and also A. L. E.W. Mark, an oblong label, with 16 B.S. 84 (?). Below this S. Michael (or S. George) slaying the dragon. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 137.

A CANDLEBOX, with shaped back. The hinges are composed of pewter rods which pass through the two small sides. Mark, inside b. p. a winged female figure in flowing skirts, with some small object in each hand. Name, DRUHL. 1812. Height 8½ inches; length 12½ inches; width 3 inches; depth 3 inches. (H. M.) (*G. Frampton, R.A.*) P. 140.

AMPULLAE OF PILGRIMS FROM MONT SAINT-MICHEL. Drawn by M. E. Corroyer. (*Reproduced by permission of Messrs. Firmin-Didot.*) P. 141.

A HANDSOME PEWTER COMMUNION CUP. One of a pair which once belonged to the Meeting-house of the Society of Friends at Maidenhead, and are so inscribed (1784) inside the circular foot. The shape is very graceful, the lip particularly so, and the line of the bowl portion is just broken by a simple moulding. The metal is of excellent quality and very sonorous. (H. M.) (*W. Niven.*) P. 143.

AN INKSTAND, with hinged pen-box. Standing on four feet. Marks, crossed staves, crowned. In four small shields: (1) H. V. D. B.; (2) a lion rampant; (3) a winged angel with a trumpet; (4) a female figure, with a sword in left hand and in her right a pair of scales. Dutch (?) manufacture. (H. M.) (*A. F. de Navarro.*) P. 145.

A Paten on a moulded foot. English work. Marks illegible. (*Colonel Croft-Lyons.*) P. 147.

An Inkstand on four ball feet, with a rather clumsily fitted drawer. (*Colonel Croft-Lyons. Block lent by the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman."*) P. 147.

Arms of a French Pewterers' Guild. (*Reproduced by permission from Havard's "Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement."*) P. 148.

German Tankard, suggesting the Scotch tappit hens. The heart-shaped lid resembles that on p. 43. (H. M.) (*H. Bryan.*) P. 149.

A small Standard Measure. Alvechurch, 1764. P. 151.

A Standard Measure. Alvechurch, 1756. (*From pencil sketches by Langton Dennis.*) P. 151.

A Massive Flagon, silvered over in part; probably German or Swiss work of sixteenth century. The reliefs are by Peter Flötner. Height 20¼ inches. (*Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine."*) P. 155.

A Roman Pewter Dish found at Appleshaw, Hants, by Rev. R. G. Engleheart, and now in the British Museum. (*Block lent by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*) P. 157.

Standing Cup. German, dated 1659. Height 26 inches; diameter 6 inches. The lid has a brass figure upon the top. (*Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine."*) P. 157.

Hexagonal Box by Bosetus. Labelled Salière. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 161.

A Kaiserteller. 7⅞ inches in diameter, with central medallion of the Emperor Ferdinand II. and legend: ferdinand ii. d. g.

RO: IM: S: A: In the rim are eleven Emperors of the House of Hapsburg. This specimen was sent by Charles XV. of Sweden to the Cluny Museum in 1870. The plate is of Nuremberg work, about 1630. Ferdinand II. died in 1637. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 167.

Similar plates are to be seen in the British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

CHARGER, with arms and initials of Charles II. English work, dated 1662. (*Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine."*) P. 169.

PLATE, with thirteen lobes containing the arms of the Swiss Cantons. (*Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine."*) P. 173.

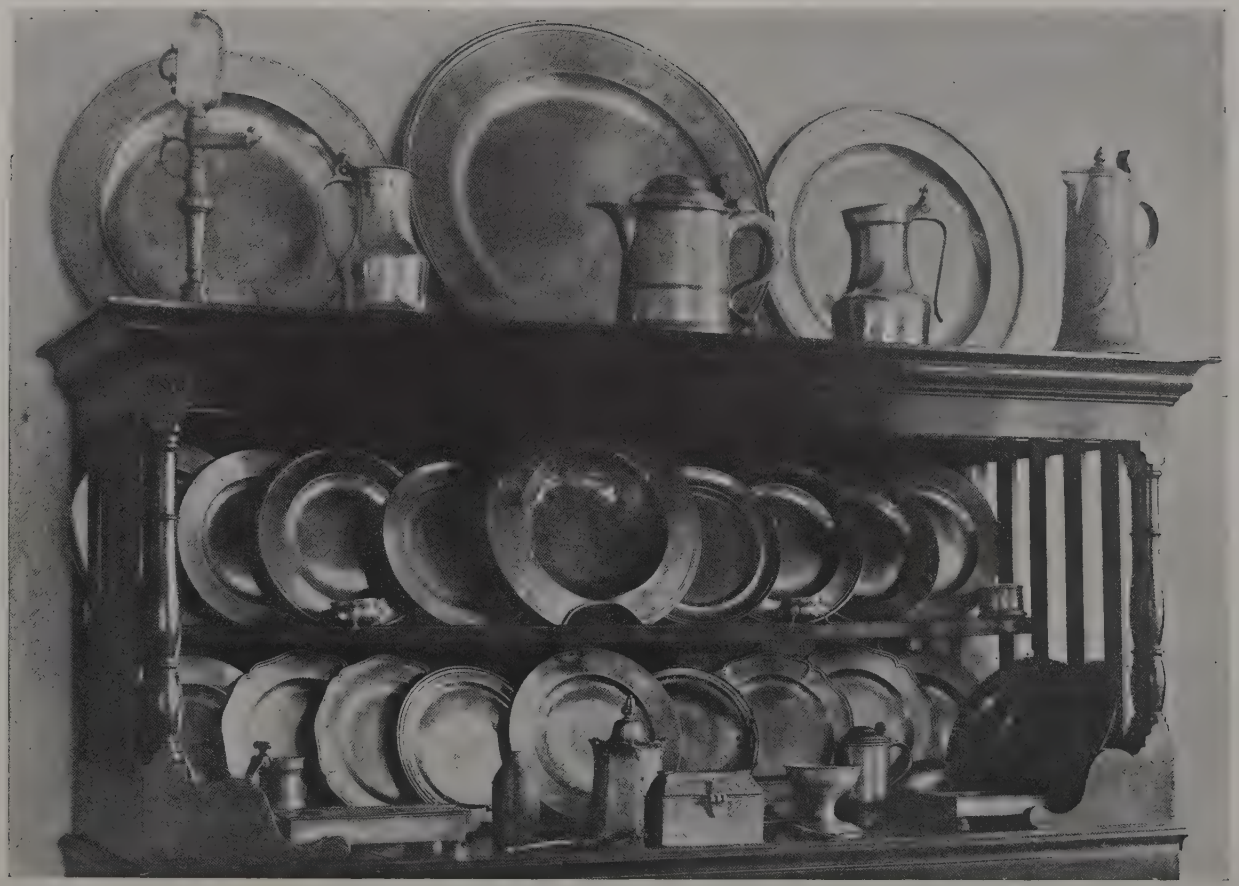
Another good specimen is in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Cologne.

THREE EARLY PEWTER POTS. The straight spout with lid is frequent in Dutch pewter. (*Cluny Museum, Paris.*) P. 175.

A GROUP OF SCOTCH CHURCH PLATE. (*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur."* P. 188.

TANKARD. German work, dated 1704. Height 20 inches; diameter $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches. (*Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine."*) P. 198.

A PLATE found in some excavations made at Guy's Hospital. (*Block lent by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*) P. 254.



A Dresserful of Pewter
A. F. de Navarro

PEWTER PLATE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

PERHAPS the chief cause which led to the disappearance of much pewter-ware which would be now the joy of a collector was the makers' custom of recasting the various objects when they had become damaged instead of repairing them. This custom no doubt began quite as early as the making of articles for domestic use in the metal. One of the earliest historical instances was when Michelet le Breton, in 1383, received 24 sols. 9 deniers for recasting 24 large pewter dishes which had cost originally as much as 119 merks, *i.e.*, at a rate of about three deniers per merk. Jehan de Montrousti, the pewterer of Isabel of Bavaria, was apparently satisfied with less, for he charged, or at any rate received, two deniers per merk for six dozen porringers, which he delivered in return for old ones.

The same thing happened in the country districts in most European countries. Travelling pewterers went their rounds carrying with them one or two moulds and a few tools, and were satisfied with the small profits they could make.

In Italy these hawkers, who were called *stagnarini*, combined with their trade that of making toys for children.

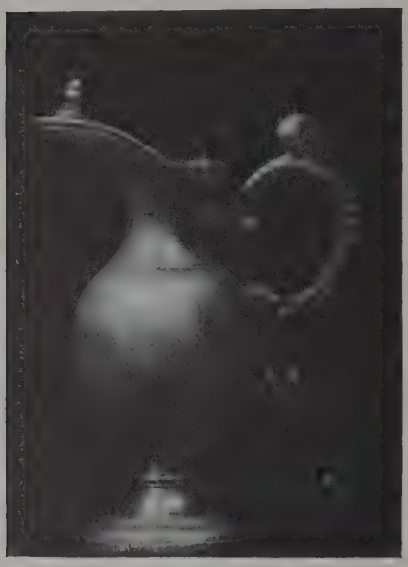
In France the same custom obtained, and the travelling pewterers did a good trade in recasting plates and dishes.

In England there was always friction between the Pewterers' Company and the "deceivable" hawkers and the tinkers who went round the country. These are responsible for the disappearance of the old ware, which they took in exchange for

new, without any fear of the Acts of Parliament by which their dealings were prohibited.

In later times the marine-store dealers, not discerning the difference between pewter and lead, bought up many hundredweights of the metal, and it was in ready demand for use as solder.

There is yet another cause that has prevented much old pewter from coming down to us, viz., the strict prohibition of the Pewterers' Company (regularly enforced while it was possible to do so) relating to the sale of old pewter as new. Pewterers might buy old metal, but they were required to melt it up and cast and fashion it anew.



PEWTER JUG
Cluny Museum

Much has been written, possibly in jest, with reference to the revival of pewter-working, but the conditions of life and living have so changed that the pewter-working art in the old sense cannot possibly be satisfactorily revived.

Pewter went out slowly and gradually before the more general adoption of cheaper china and earthenware, and the introduction of blocked tin, zinc, galvanized iron and Britannia metal. Zinc, as soon as its capabilities became known, took the place of pewter for large vessels for the carrying of water, as it was cheaper and lighter. The introduction of galvanized iron further developed the use of zinc, and decreased that of pewter.

The tinning of sheet steel was another cause for the decrease in the use of pewter-ware. Historically, the tinning of copper vessels was an early use of tin, dating long before that of tin alone, or alloyed with lead. But the cheapness of the tinned

steel or blocked tin (now corrupted into the meaningless block-tin) gave it an advantage over everything else.

Britannia metal is by no means to be regarded as an ignoble successor of pewter, for it is, itself, really good pewter; but it was assisted in its quasi-usurpation by the discovery that it could, unlike most pewter, be satisfactorily electro-plated, or coated with an electro deposit of silver. Perhaps the secret of the success of Britannia metal is that it is easier to spin in the lathe, and is less liable to split or crack in the process. Then, too, this spinning process is quicker and more direct than the turning and finishing of a pewter casting, and enables cups and other articles to be turned out by the thousand to one pattern, each cup being like its fellow to perhaps the hundredth of an inch.

SALTCELLAR
H. Bryan

German silver, or rather nickel, electro-plated, was a rival to Britannia metal, and both now hold the field. The introduction of enamelled iron has rendered it possible to make many articles of that ware which were formerly made of earthenware, china and tinned steel.

Aluminium too has entered the lists, and will undoubtedly, when it can be produced in sufficient quantity and at a lower price, eventually stifle some branches of the pewter trade which still manage to survive. The lighter metal may oust Britannia metal in its turn, and there are already in the manufacturers' catalogues indications of the coming change.

Pewter, then, cannot be revived in the strict sense of being restored to a regular place in the daily life of our own time,

such as it enjoyed three centuries ago. We have progressed too much for that. Pewter could not stand the racket and turmoil of existence of the present day, when everything has to be sacrificed to the Juggernaut of speed. On the whole it was better that pewter should have gone out when it did, than that it should have dragged on till now, to be crowded out by the cheap and nasty enamelled ironware or the composition known as wood-pulp. The only possible revival is a trade-art revival, and every one with the least glimmering of an artistic sense will appreciate such a revival at its proper value. Our English pewterers were certainly guilty of contributory negligence in supinely allowing their trade to be thus wrested from them. Good honest pewter, properly compounded and properly wrought, is in appearance second to nothing but genuine silver plate, and no electro-plated rival ought to have been able to oust it from its position.

BUTTER DISH
H. J. L. J. Massé

Pewter itself can be electro-plated—as entries in the lists of church plate plainly testify—and the pewterers could have easily ousted their rivals by adopting the electro-plating process.

A working pewterer's own opinion of the decay of his own craft is that when Britannia metal was introduced with its greater facility of working, and its therefore smaller cost, the pewterers, or rather the four or five large firms who then represented the greater part of the trade, resolved that they would not attempt to fight the enemy—partly from the cost of making new moulds, always a serious item to a pewterer, partly from a bigoted conservatism which produced a perfect feeling of self-satisfaction, and partly from a selfish kind of apathy bred of independence out of commercial success.

Within the last few years a great amount of this art pewter has been made in Germany and elsewhere, and foisted upon a not unwilling English market. It has actually been advertised as a revival of the ancient pewter. As a matter of fact, it is nothing of the sort, neither in the component parts of the alloy, nor in the design. It is too hard and brittle for pewter, and it has, probably intentionally, the appearance of silver. The designs for the most part are such that no self-respecting pewterer and no real silversmith of bygone days would have demeaned himself to work. The *motif* of most of this trumpery is the treatment of animal and vegetable life in such a way that all their naturally beautiful curves are reduced into a common denominator of meaningless squirms. Much of the work is painfully mechanical and hard, even the apparent softness of outline of some of the low-reliefs having been obtained by stamping, or by a process of rubbing down a sharp casting to the required degree of dullness.

QUART POT
W. Niven

Mr. H. Wilson in his very able book on Silverwork (p. 61) has some very scathing words on *L'Art Nouveau*. He says: "You will then be the less tempted to follow the vagaries of *L'Art Nouveau*, that corrupted compound of uneasy vermiformity, slickness and imbecility, from which escape seems almost impossible. It is the art of the undying worm."

It is painful to see the effect which one man's mania—for it is nothing else—filtered through the warped brains of neurotic dreamers who cannot draw, is exerting on most of the would-be designers of to-day. Everything, from the biggest shop-front to the tiniest brooch or scarfpin, must be ornamented with a meaningless twist. It is this pestilent *art nouveau* which is flooding the market of to-day with "genuine" pewter, or

véritable étain (mostly made in Germany) of the most grotesquely inane description.

In striving to arrive at "art" pewter, the manufacturers have produced the wrong kind of alloy. It is far too crude and white, and has a meretricious look, besides the fatal fault of almost looking like silver or electro-plate. Another fault is that it is far too brittle and hard. There is no nice feeling in it; it is, unlike old pewter, hard and repulsive to the touch.

Against such "art" stuff there is sooner or later bound to be a reaction, and when it comes we may expect to see a return to a very severe and formal type in every branch of decoration, pewter-ware included. In fact there are already signs of the welcome return to simplicity of form and design in many branches of art, more particularly in those specimens which hail from Germany and France. Judging from the symptoms, the return will be in the nature of a rebound or a revulsion, and we may expect the diametrically opposite extreme of stiffness and angularity.

Perhaps the greatest charm in pewter is the colour. Compare the effect of a dresser full of pewter—dishes as a background, tankards, mugs, beakers and flagons in the front—with a similar array of silver or silver parcel gilt, and the aesthetic sense of colour will be more satisfied with the *gris de perle* of the pewter than with the whiter colour of the silver. Silver will always look a little harder than the humbler pewter. Gilt plate somehow or other generally suggests brass, and there is an element of distraction in its frequently ornate richness. Where the form is right and simple the suggestion of brass does not present itself.

A room panelled with old oak is an admirable place to exhibit or display a collection of pewter, but the latter should reign supreme in the room. It is not well, for instance, to combine pewter and china, however interesting and valuable, on the same dresser. Neither is it well to combine a display of brass sconces and repoussé work with pewter. Copper may be allowed if introduced with taste, as the reflections from

burnished copper on pewter are charming in colour; but those from brass are not so pleasing.

Pewter-ware of small size does not tell well unless it is grouped together. A mantelshelf will hold a fair amount of pewter judiciously arranged and backed by large plates or dishes, and if the wall is distempered or papered with plain paper, *e.g.*, buff or French gray, the result is rich.

A chimney-breast decked with pewter of various kinds is effective, and the space allows of some arrangement of the pieces.

The charm of early pewter depended much upon its form, and the form in the best period depended upon the use to which the article was to be put; hence the beauty of the earlier work. The would-be revivalist forgets the use—much of his work is not intended for use—and goes for the form only: and, mistaking his aim, overloads his productions with equally mistaken and meaningless ornament.

Over-elaboration in the original model and consequently in the mould, a somewhat costly part of the production, makes for prohibitive cost if the metal used is to be good. Any cheapening must be naturally at the expense of the quality. It is probable that the process of stamping out of parts—dies again are an expensive item in the first cost—has been adopted for the sake of turning out the articles of "art" pewter at a cheaper rate per thousand.

Satisfactory designs for pewter cannot be extemporized by any designer, however cunning he may be at catching the public taste—so called—with a gaudy cretonne or a meaningless wall-paper. A design for pewter, as for any other material, must be made by one who knows the metal, one who has, by working in it, found out its limitations, its possibility and its charms. One who is endowed with self-restraint, a rare enough gift, will probably succeed, where another, who is daringly original, perhaps through ignorance, will come to utter grief.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND COMPOSITION OF PEWTER

PEWTER, which has played, as a rule, a humble part in the domestic economy of mankind, has within the last few years been placed upon an entirely different footing, by being, possibly temporarily, focussed under the more or less scrutinizing gaze of the genus collector.

Pewter, in the ordinary sense[1] of the term, went out of fashion, or out of use, when the cost of the production of faïence began to be moderate enough to allow it to be used in the average household for its daily requirements. This was perhaps inevitable as a step in the progression; pewter itself had been preceded by platters and porringers of wood, or, as our forefathers called it, *treene*. Tin, in Latin *stannum*, seems by Pliny to have been regarded as very similar to lead; for he calls tin *plumbum candidum*, and lead *plumbum nigrum*. The quicker oxidation of lead was perhaps his differentiating mark in thus naming the metals. He mentions *stannum* as well, but this, according to Beckmann, was a very hard pewter—a genuine pewter alloy composed of tin and lead. From *stannum*, or a supposed collateral form *stagnum*, came the Italian *stagno*, the Spanish *estaño*, the Provençal *estaing* and *estanh*, the earlier French *estain*, and the modern *étain*. There were other words in Italian and Spanish, viz., *peltro* and *peltre*; and the French as early as 1220, according to Lacombe, used *peautre* from *espeautre*.[2] Closely akin to this is the Dutch

[1] The word pewter is used loosely at the present day by silversmiths to include Britannia metal, and in fact all alloys of that nature.

[2] The will of one Nicholas le Peautrer (according to the calendar of wills compiled by Dr. R. R. Sharpe for the Corporation of the City of London) was

equivalent *speawter* or *peawter*, connected with, etymologically, our *spelter*. In English the word has taken many forms—pewter we know, but it is found in inventories as pewther, a form not unknown in Scotland, and also as pewder.[1] In German pewter is *zinn* or sometimes *zinngiesserzinn*.

All this, etymologically, seems clear enough, but practically there has always been a considerable amount of laxity in the use of the words pewter and tin. If the German *zinn* and the French *étain* always meant good honest tin, and tin only, it would be much simpler to use another word for pewter, and to keep to it. French makes a verbal distinction between *estain pur*, as compared with *estain mort*, *i.e.*, tin alloyed with lead; but the distinction is not strictly observed, and all kinds of alloys come under the head of *étain*, just as copper and brass are classed as *cuivre*. So, too, our English workmen who work in brass and copper are generally known as coppersmiths.

In the composition of the metal known as pewter, there has been a corresponding laxity and considerable variety. To make this clear the various alloys are tabulated. It was not possible without fractions to reduce them all to parts per 100, but the proportions of the constituent alloys are easily to be found by anyone interested in this, and it is an important part of the subject.

It is beyond the scope of this book to discuss where tin was first found, or whence the Egyptians and other early users of tin obtained their supplies, and in reality it matters but little. To discuss it in detail would be almost as interesting as the investigation of the various (assumed) symbolic meanings of the forms of the spiral curve in ornament.

Tin, the chief component element in pewter, has played its part from very early times. It is mentioned in Plautus, again in Pliny; but it was known at the time the book of Numbers was written. It is mentioned, too, in Ezekiel, xxvii. 12.

Mr. Flinders Petrie has shown that bronze was known to the Egyptians as early as a date which he gives as 3700 B.C.

enrolled in 1347-8, and the same name, but spelled Le Peuterer, occurs as a surname in the Close Roll for 1355.

[1] In York the "Ordinationes Peudererariorum" corroborate this spelling.

England still produces her quota of Cornish tin, on an average 8,000 tons per annum, but from Malacca the output has for twenty years gone on steadily increasing. Australia fifteen years ago produced more than the mother-country; but ten years back the supply had gone down some 50 per cent. Bolivian tin, on the contrary, has grown in commercial importance every year.

Hentzner (p. 86), quoted in Harrison's "Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth," says: "It has mines of gold, silver and tin (of which all manner of table utensils are made, in brightness equal to silver, and used all over Europe), of lead and of iron, but not much of the latter."

Lead (another component part of pewter) was found in England close by the mines from which tin was extracted; in fact, as the Abbé Cochet wrote, England "is the classic land of lead and tin."

Herodotus ("Hist." III, 115) may be excused for terming the British Isles Cassiterides, if we remember that the tin trade was the chief inducement which led the Phoenicians to our shores. As Mr. Lethaby, in his "Lead Work," says of tin and lead: "These two metals made the early fame of Britain: they brought here the Phoenician trader and had doubtless much to do with the Roman occupation of this distant island."

This name Cassiterides is derived from κασσίτερος—a word found in Homer, Hesiod and Aristotle, and one which corresponds in the main with our tin. It is thought to be connected with the Chaldaean word Kastira, closely following the Sanskrit.

The Egyptian word *Khespet*—the *Kaspa* of the Semitic dialects—seems to have been used for tin.

The Romans also seem to have used pewter, getting their tin from Cornwall both through Gaul overland, and also by ship. The Roman legions in England left many specimens of official seals, round, oval, and rectangular, in their station at Brough in Westmoreland. These seals were in great request thirty years ago by the local tinkers, who found that the metal made excellent solder.

Some of the Roman pewter was practically pure tin. Other varieties will be found in Mr. Gowland's "Analyses" on page 22.

EWER
Cluny Museum

Tin and lead were found in other parts of the British Isles, and Harrison, in his " Description of England," specially men-

tions Derbyshire and Weredale, and adds that there were lead-mines in Wales which were carried on till all the wood there was consumed in smelting it.

The metals in ingot form were carried by boat from Ictis—a place which is sometimes identified with Weymouth, sometimes with the Isle of Wight—across to France, and then by boat up the Seine, or else by caravan to other points of distribution. Of these points there is no doubt that Bruges was one of the chief depots in Northern Europe for English tin and lead, just as in Strabo's time Marseille was for the Mediterranean.

Harrison, in his "Description of England," wrote: "Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried unto Marsilis from hence, as Diodorus also confirmeth, are verie plentiful with us, the one in Cornewall, Devonshire (and elsewhere in the north), the other in Darby Shire, Weredale, and sundrie places of this Iland: whereby my countrymen doo reape no small commoditie, but especiallie our pewterers, who in time past imploied the use of pewter onelie upon dishes, pots, and a few other trifles for service here at home, whereas now they are growne unto such exquisite cunning that they can in manner imitate by infusion anie forme or fashion of cup, dish, salt, bowle or goblet, which is made by goldsmiths' crafts, though they be never so curious, exquisite and artificiallie forged."

Though Cornwall was the chief tin-producing country, it must not be forgotten that from the mines in the extreme west of Brittany, a part similar to Cornwall in its geological conformation, much tin was obtained. Of the tin thence derived much may have found its way to Marseille and thence to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

Another port of note in connection with the Phoenician trade was Tartessus, the Tarshish of the Bible. Mr. Lethaby thinks that "it may well be of English mined metal that the prophet speaks: 'Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs' (Ezekiel, xxvii. 12)"; but it may quite well have been Spanish ore from which the tin was

smelted. Spain, which is exceedingly rich in mineral wealth, owing to the igneous origin of the country, is a large producer of lead and argentiferous lead ores, and like France was formerly a producer of tin. Its tin, too, may have been comparatively a superficial deposit, and for that reason the sooner exhausted,

SALVER (BRIOT)
Cluny Museum

in the same way that the silver from South America was first brought from the surface only.

One of the chief points in Spain for the tin trade in the fourteenth century was Barcelona, and most of its trade was carried on with Venice and with Provence. Their statutes and regulations date from 1406 and onwards to the end of the fifteenth century.

The Minho owed its name to the abundance of minium found on its banks; a mountain near the source of the Betis or Guadalquivir, by name Cazorla, was known as Mons Argentarius; and tin was found in abundance on the banks of the same river. Spain is still rich in lead ore and argentiferous galena, but there is very little, if any, tin found there now.

Tin was found at Campiglia in Italy, and used by the Etruscans in the making of their bronze.

Tin by itself is not so durable and ductile as lead. The latter metal, if finely powdered, will unite under a pressure of 13 tons to the square inch and form a solid mass, similar to lead which has been fused; and with a pressure of 33 tons to the square inch the lead formed by pressure will flow in the same way as a liquid.

Tin being harder requires a pressure of 19 tons to the square inch to unite, and one of 47 tons to the square inch before it will flow.

There is, however, one peculiarity of tin so formed and pressed; it will not always emit the "cry" so characteristic of tin when bent.

From its great fusibility pewter and other similar alloys were used by goldsmiths for making proofs of their work that could be submitted to their patrons. These proofs were in some cases preserved for the craftsman's future reference. Benvenuto Cellini is known to have used alloys of various kinds in this way; but it seems certain that he used pewter for obtaining first impressions of his coins and medals.

In one of his large foundry enterprises his bronze did not flow readily enough, so he threw in some of his pewter dishes that were close at hand, and, as in everything that Cellini did that is chronicled by himself, the desired result ensued at once.

There are in the British Museum plaques in lead or pewter of medallions and figure subjects in low relief, cast by Peter Flötner.

In early times pewter of the best quality consisted of tin

with the addition of as much brass as the tin could take up, and this was called Fine Pewter. It is probable that the proportion was 4 to 1, and in that case the ratio of alloy in fine pewter and in that used for vessels of tin was the same, copper or brass being added in the former, lead in the latter. This

SALVER (BRIOT)
Cluny Museum

quality of pewter was called "fine," and of it was made almost everything that was usually made in pewter, *i.e.*, esquelles (*écuelles*), saltcellars, platters, chargers, square pitchers and cruets, chrismatories, and other things that were made square, ribbed or fluted.

The second quality for vessels consisted of tin and lead in

the proportion of 4 : 1, or to be more exact 112 : 26. This alloy[1] was used for articles more or less round in shape, such as pots, small bowls, cruets and candlesticks.

This proportion (4 : 1) of tin and lead is almost identical with that used in Japanese work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and is the proportion prescribed by law for spoons and candlesticks in France at the present day.

Another quality of pewter is that called *trifle*, and was that in use for public-house tankards and mugs. It was sometimes made with nearly 40 per cent. of lead, and was then called *black-metal*, probably from the facility with which it would tarnish.

Ley-metal, lea or lay, was the name given to common pewter, or to pewter which after assay was found to be below standard. It was confiscated and could be bought up by the Master and Wardens, as their special privilege, at a low price per pound.

Confiscated metal was converted into ley by the addition of a specified quantity of peak. From metal of this quality tankards and the commoner inkstands were made.

Tin when mixed with a still larger proportion of lead was known as ley-metal. It was used for large wine measures, and ice-vessels.

The following table of pewter of various kinds will show more clearly the composition of the different alloys. When lead is not used antimony takes its place, and makes the resulting alloy of greater hardness and brittleness.

Where more than 20 per cent. of lead is added the colour of the pewter is affected, and it becomes darker, with a somewhat bluish tinge.

Lead and tin when combined shrink less than either of the two metals taken by itself. The lead increases the ductility, but at the expense of the tenacity.

With 10 per cent. lead added, tin will still give its characteristic *cri* or crackle, but less audibly.

[1] The proportion is sometimes given as 22 lb., sometimes as 16 lb. of lead.

Name given to Alloy.	Tin.	Lead.	Ant.	Copper.	Zinc.	Bismuth.
Fine pewter (Welch) . . .	112			26		
Tin and temper	100		1·6			
Vessels of tin (Welch) . . .	112	26				
Better pewter, 1	84		7	4		
„ „ 2	89		7	2		2
„ „ 3	56	8		6	2	
Hard metal[1]	96		8	2		
Plate pewter, 1	100		8	4		4
„ „ 2	112		6 or 7			
„ „ 3	90		7	2		2
„ „ 4	89·3		7·1	1·8		1·8
Trifle or common pewter,[2] 1	83		17			
„ „ „ 2	82		18			
Superior pewter	100		17			
Ley	80	20				
Ley (Welch, if peak is lead).	70	22½				
Organ pipe metal	60	40				
Aiken's[3]	100		8	4		
Pemberton's	90		10			
Wallerius'	96		8	⅙		
Ashbury metal	77·8		19·4		2·8	
Queen's metal	100		8	4		1
Fioravanti for dishes and porringers	88	12				
Montpellier pewterers, 1437, for dishes and porringers .	96	4				
Montpellier pewterers, 1437, for ewers and salts . . .	90	10				
Limoges pewterers	100	4		1		
Formula in Harrison[4] . . .	1000			kettle brass, 30		3 or 4
French *claire soudure*;[5] also for candle-moulds	50	50				
French pewter (of to-day)[6] .	83·5	16·5				

[1] This closely resembles one formula for Britannia metal, *i.e.*, 92 parts of tin, 8 of antimony, and 2 parts of copper.

[2] Mr. Greenland gives this as an alloy for beer-mugs. It is better than that usually employed.

[3] Aiken's metal is a variety of plate-metal, being the same as No. 2, but with the omission of the bismuth.

[4] Harrison adds: "But as too much of this (the bismuth) doth make the stuff brickle, so the more the brass be, the better is the pewter and more profitable unto him that doth buy and purchase the same."

[5] This is of course nothing but solder.

[6] In France the legal percentage of lead in pewter is 16·5 with a toleration of 1·5 per cent. of error. Vauquelin held that such an alloy was as proof against the action of the acid in sour wine or vinegar as tin alone.

Name given to Alloy.	Tin.	Lead.	Ant.	Copper.	Zinc.	Bismuth.
French pewter (eighteenth century)	100			5		
French pewter	100			3		1
Best pewter[1] (French, 1776)	100	15				
Ordinary pewter (French)	82	18				
„ „ „ for plates	92	8				

The usual classification in French writings is into *étain sonnant*, *i.e.*, metal which had been melted several times and planished, the result being that the metal became harder and sonorous; and *étain commun*, *i.e.*, tin with 15 per cent. of lead together with 6 per cent. of brass.

Zinc, even if present in the small amount of 1 per cent. destroys the crackling noise altogether.

The rule as to marks under the Statutes of Louis XIII. will be found on page 152.

Some French pewter is stamped BLANC, by way of a guide to its quality, as the greater the amount of lead that enters into the composition of the alloy the more blue the tone.

Some few formulae for Britannia metal are here given, because good Britannia metal is really a pewter of good quality, as it contains, or should contain, no lead.

BRITANNIA METAL.

	Tin.	Antimony.	Copper.	Zinc.	Brass.
Good B. M.	150	10	3		
Various alloys for casting	140	5	2		
	90	8	2		
	85·7	10·4	1	2·9	
	81	16	1	2	
	81·9	16·2		1·9	
	84	7	2		2

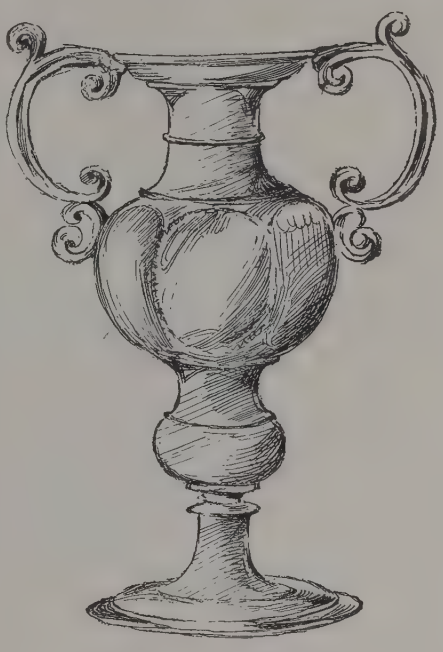
These proportions may be found to be varied by different

[1] The lead was to be increased to 20 lb. if the tin was new.

manufacturers, according to the article for which the alloy is used.

The Bidri ware of India is really a variety of Britannia metal, as it consists of copper, lead and tin. It is blackened by insertion in a bath of sal-ammoniac, saltpetre and blue vitriol.

The alloy, according to Sir G. Birdwood, is cast and then turned to complete the form required, usually that of the ordinary *sarai* or water goblet, or *hukah*, a stand. The required pattern is engraved and inlaid with silver, and next the blackening process takes place. Finally the silver inlay is scoured and cleaned to the utmost degree of polish.



TWO-HANDLED CUP
R. Baird

Biringuccio, "Pyrotechnia," book v., says: "Lead and tin when mingled help one another by the natural affinity they have for one another; so that when mingled one cannot distinguish them without great difficulty. . . . Foreign merchants say that tin should be alloyed with lead, and that it is better to work if it contains 4 or 6 per cent. of lead, being softer under the hammer, melts more easily and casts more sharply and cleanly." To this he adds the remark: "What they say does not commend itself to me, for I see that the tin which comes from England surpasses in beauty and quality that which comes from Venice, and I believe that in all kinds of work it is better pure than mixed [with lead]."

From the infinite variety of the alloys here given, it will be seen that there is a considerable amount of choice open to any one who wishes to make up any pewter for experimental pur-

poses. It would be interesting to note the behaviour of some half-a-dozen different specimens under the same atmospheric conditions, if all could be exposed at the same time.

Type metal, another useful alloy of tin, lead and antimony, is somewhat like the composition used for toys at the present time, and three formulae are here given for the sake of comparison with the foregoing:

Lead.	Antimony.	Tin.
50	25	25
55	22·7	22·1
61·3	18·8	20·2

Another formula is here given: Lead 100, antimony 35, tin 15, copper 4.

The effect of the antimony is to give hardness and brittleness, but it is also added as it helps to give sharp casts of letters in the mould.

Bapst, in giving the following analysis of some pewter of the fourth century found at Aquae Neriae (Néris), tin ·6958, lead ·3042, adds that it contained no copper or arsenic. This seems to have been an exceptionally pure sample, but it contained a much higher percentage of lead than would be allowed in France at the present day for articles of domestic use.

The sample analyzed above is of about the same quality as plumber's solder, and slightly superior to the foil used for wrapping up packets of such wares as tea, chocolate and tobacco.

Mr. Gowland's interesting analyses of Roman pewter[1] show that sometimes the tin was practically pure, 99·18 tin to 0·14 lead; at others the alloy contained less lead than what he calls a true pewter, *e.g.*, 94·35 tin to 5·06 lead, with traces of iron and copper, or 90·55 tin to 8·31 lead, with a trace of copper. As typical Roman pewter he gives 72·36 tin to 26·09 lead, and 70·58 tin to 27·62 lead.

Another example of Roman pewter found in Suffolk gave him 45·74 tin to 53·34 lead, with traces of iron and copper, which is more than what is known in French as *claire soudure*.

[1] "Archaeologia," vol. lvi.

Japanese antimony metal is a variety of pewter which is admirably adapted for casting or stamping in very intricate and delicate forms. It fuses at a low temperature and then becomes rather brittle. Some specimens have been apparently coated with an electro-deposit of some other metal, which in carelessly made specimens peels off in large flakes.

PEWTER DISH—RELIEF WORK
A. F. de Navarro

Tin with antimony makes a hard, white and durable alloy, which will burnish well and keep a good polish.

SOLDERS.

	Tin.	Lead.	Bismuth.
Pewterer's soft solder	3	4	2
„ „	3	4	1
„ „	2	1	1
„ „ and for Britannia metal	10	5	1 to 3

The most effective solder for pewter is a mercurial solder, which melts readily, and with a suitable oil as a flux, flows like water.

Pewter can be also repaired with scraps of pewter, a suitable flux being required, and support being given to the part damaged while the solder is being melted. A blowpipe in the hands of an expert is a ready and convenient mode of melting the scraps in the required position, a wet cloth or a sandbag being held underneath the part to be repaired, to prevent the metal from flowing away when fused.

Another method of joining two pieces of pewter is that known as "burning on," in which case molten metal is poured on till a homogeneous joint is made. It is easily and quickly done if one of the pieces is held in a specially designed mould, so that the fluid metal acts at once on the piece to which it is to be eventually joined.

Soldering is either done by means of a blowpipe or with soldering irons of various sizes and shapes.

The late Professor W. C. Roberts Austen showed that when an alloy was beginning to cool and solidify the metal was not one uniform and homogeneous whole, but a collection of alloys slightly varying at different points, yet forming one apparent whole. This phenomenon accounts for the cases in which pewter tarnishes in patches after being cleaned, and it also accounts satisfactorily for the discrepancy in the analyses of different samples of pewter, even when taken from the same object.

Mr. W. Gowland found some Japanese pewter to contain tin and lead in the proportion of 83·48 to 20·02 and 77·64 to 22·5, with traces of copper and iron, in samples from the cover of an eighteenth-century tea-jar.

Iron, in small traces, is found naturally in some tin ores, as in the two analyses just quoted. In 1776 a German chemist, after many experiments, came to the conclusion that lead was a noxious ingredient in pewter alloys, and worked at the question of finding an efficient substitute. His directions were as follows: "Take a pound of regulus of antimony, and a pound and a half of iron filings carefully washed and dried at once. Pound the mixture well together and mix. Place in a crucible and melt. Then add one pound of bismuth. This mixture is

to be added to a quintal of tin and will give an alloy hard, sonorous, in colour almost as fine as silver, and not at all inferior to the *étain sonnant* of England."

It remains to be seen whether in such an alloy the iron

A Kaiserteller
Cluny Museum

would remain uncombined with the tin, and if so whether rust spots would not crop out plentifully after exposure to damp. Iron has, however, been successfully added to tin alloys in small quantities, *e.g.*, an alloy, called *alliage* Biberel, containing tin and iron in the proportion of 6 : 1 has been used for tinning copper goods; and another, termed *alliage* Budi, has been used

for tinning cast iron. Its component parts are tin 89, iron 5, with 6 of nickel.

It would be a great convenience if some simple chemical test could be found which, if applied to pewter, would give some indication of the quality. From the nature of the metal, or rather the alloy, this is not to be expected. Any chemical test, to be efficient, must be carried out by an analyst.

Weight, to any one expert in handling pewter, is one test; colour is another. It will be found, on making the experiment, that a piece of lead leaves a dark mark when drawn across paper, and when only a limited quantity of tin is alloyed with it, this property is still retained; if the certain limit be exceeded, the alloy no longer has the property of producing the dark mark. In this way it is possible to estimate roughly the quantity of the lead present by this test, taken in conjunction with the behaviour of the metal under the hammer, file and chisel. An alloy composed of 90 parts tin to 10 of lead does not give any mark on paper, but one of 75 parts to 25 will give a very faint mark. Between these two limits no mark can be observed when the alloys are drawn across paper. All lead-tin alloys containing less than 75 per cent. of tin have the power of marking paper.

The following tests were those in use in a French pewterer's shop 130 years ago. Apply a soldering iron to some part of the metal to be tested. If the pewter is good, the spot will be white with a little point in the centre. If the pewter is poor in quality, the spot will be brown all round and white in the centre; the less white there is, the worse the quality.

This method is that usually applied formerly to made-up pewter. For tin in ingots the following test is preferable. A small hemispherical mould is made with a narrow conduit to it; into this the metal to be tested is run. When cold it is to be examined, and if the metal is clear and bright, homogeneous and equal in colour on both sides, it is good in quality. There will be noticed a tiny depression in the centre of the piece. Pewter less good in quality will have a deeper depression in the centre and will be spotted with white on the surface.

The underneath side will be shiny. Pewter of a lesser degree of purity will be quite white on both sides.

Common pewter will be quite white except where the metal

EWER AND TANKARD
Cluny Museum

in the conduit joins that in the mould. This will be found to be brown, and the browner the colour the worse the pewter. If the metal is all brown it is fit for the tinman to solder with, but not for the pewterer.

Bapst (p. 48) gives another method, which, dating from

early times, is still a practical test. He says: "The workman made a closed mould, of which the hollow space in the form of a medallion was of the size of two silver five-franc pieces. In this he ran some pure tin, and the medallion or disk thus obtained was his 'standard.' When he had to test any pewter, he ran it into his mould and then compared the casting with his 'standard.' As lead weighs 11·352 grammes and tin weighs 7·285 grammes per litre, it was easy to see if any lead had been added, and a simple calculation showed him the exact quantity so added."

The "knife" test is in high repute with many. A sharp knife point is drawn slowly along the metal to be tested and it gives certain indications. On good pewter the characteristic crackle will be heard as the knife is drawn along the metal; on inferior stuff it will not be heard at all, and the greater the percentage of lead the more easily will the knife slip.

The test is not infallible because, if zinc to the extent of only one per cent. be present in the pewter, the crackle will not be heard. In the case of Britannia metal the knife goes in to a less extent, and makes a harsh noise as it is drawn along, but yet a noise quite distinct from the *cri* or crackle.

"Silver" is a name often applied to pewter, no doubt with a view to enhancing the price, but the mixing of silver and tin is not what one might call a common-sense alloy. Tin is quite brittle enough of its own nature, and the addition of silver in any proportion large enough to justify the name "silver pewter" would be absurd. There is undoubtedly pewter which looks like silver, *e.g.*, the tankards formerly in the Shoppee Collection and now in the South Kensington Museum. It is a question of the composition of the alloy.

There has always been in lead made from argentiferous galena a certain amount of silver, until the Pattinson and later the Karsten process made it possible to eliminate it entirely. It is not a new thing to make pewter look like silver. Some time in the fourteenth century Sebaldus Ruprecht became famous in this way, and the trade became remunerative. Martin Harscher (†1523) obtained renown by the superexcel-

lent quality of his metal, which was said to be better than English pewter in quality. Another German workman, Melchior Koch, found out a method of making his pewter look as though it had been gilded with pure gold. Hans Lobsinger, too, is credited with still more ingenious devices. He claimed to know how to make tin as plastic as wax, and after working the most elaborate and ornate designs in it, how to temper it and endow it with the requisite hardness. These secrets caused the *bona fide* goldsmiths to look to their laurels. They seem, too, to have felt somewhat uneasy, for in 1579 they secured the enactment of a regulation on the principle of *ne sutor ultra crepidam*—that no pewterer might work in any metal but pewter, and, as a partial sop to the pewterers, that no silversmith or goldsmith might work in pewter.[1]

Fortunately for the goldsmiths Koch's secret died with him in 1567, and Lobsinger's process has not come down to our time.

Later, in the seventeenth century (1652), Major Purling invented a new alloy to which he gave the suspiciously modern name of *Silvorum*. The Pewterers' Company prohibited one of their members (Thomas Allen) from working with the inventor, and in the next year Lawrence Dyer, for "untoucht ware and making of faulce plat called Silvorum, the which ware is ceased and deteyned by the Company."

[1] This was probably in imitation of the similar regulation made in Paris in 1545. The same regulation was made in Nuremberg in 1579.

CHAPTER III

THE PEWTERER'S CRAFT

THE craft and mystery of the Pewterers goes back to a far more remote date than existing records would lead us to suppose, for many years before the first charter was given to the Pewterers there were charters given to the stannaries of Cornwall and Devon by King John (in 1201) and by Richard, King of the Romans.

These charters show the importance of the tin industry at the time; and they, in the main, confirm previously existing customs such as the rights to dig tin, and cut turf to melt the tin, anywhere without fear of interruption or interference, in the moors, and in the fees of bishops, abbots and earls.

Another charter of Edward I. (1305), addressed to the miners, gives indirect proof of the existence of a regular system of guild organization in England.

No official record of the Pewterers' Company[1] goes back further than 1348, when the pewterers of London petitioned the Mayor and Aldermen for ordinances framed for the protection of the workmen from fraud, and to maintain the reputation for good quality that English pewter always bore.

Mr. J. Starkie Gardner thinks that these ordinances were based upon the rules of the Paris Corporations described by Etienne Boileau in the middle of the thirteenth century, but

[1] The "History of the Pewterers' Company," by Mr. C. Welch, F.S.A., Librarian of the Guildhall, published in 1902, is a book the appearance of which has been long and eagerly expected, both by collectors of pewter and by those interested in the former usefulness of the London guilds. Mr. Welch published about ten years ago, in the "City Press," some few particulars which, though scanty, are of great interest, and upon which the greater part of these notes was originally based.

it seems safer to assume that the English workmen merely had put down in writing [1] the customs of their trade previously in a floating condition, and probably more or less identical with those of the pewterers working on the Continent.

PEWTER PLATE IN RELIEF.
A. F. de Navarro.

Ordinances of the Pewterers, 22 Edw. III., A.D. 1348 (*mainly from Riley, "Memorials of London," pp.* 241-244, *translated from the Norman French*).

"In the first place—seeing that the trade of pewterers is founded upon certain matters and metals, such as copper, tin and lead, in due proportions: of which three metals they make

[1] The York pewterers in 1419 in their "Ordinationes Peudererariorum" expressly stated that their rules were the same as those of the London workmen. The London rules are given on page 31 *et seq.*

vessels, that is to say pots, salers (salt-cellars), porringers (esquelles), platters, and other things by good folks bespoken: which works demand certain metals and certain alloys according to the manner of vessel so bespoken: the which things cannot be made without good knowledge of the pewterer, expert and cunning in the craft; [seeing that many persons not knowing the right alloys, nor yet the mixtures or the right rules of the trade, do work and make vessels and other things not in due manner, to the damage of the people, and to the scandal of the trade,[1]] therefore the good folk of the trade do pray that it may be ordained that three or four of the most true and cunning in the craft be chosen to oversee the alloys and the workmanship aforesaid: and that by their examination and assay amendment may speedily be made where default has been committed. And if any one shall be found rebellious against the Wardens and Assayers, the default may be sent, with the name of the rebellious offender, unto the Mayor and Aldermen: and that by them he may be adjudged upon, in presence of the good folk of the trade, who have found such default.

"And be it understood, that all manner of vessels of pewter such as porringers, saucers, platters, chargers, pi[t]chers square, and cruets squared, and chrismatories, and other things that are made square or cistils [ribbed], shall be made of fine pewter, with the proportion of *copper*[2] to the tin, as much as of its own nature, it will take. And all other things that are wrought by the trade, such as pots rounded, cruets rounded, and candlesticks and other rounded vessels . . . to be wrought of tin alloyed with lead in reasonable proportions. And the proportions of the alloy are to one hundredweight of tin 22 lb.[3] of lead: and these are always called 'vessels of pewter' (*vessele desteym*).

[1] Not given in Mr. Welch's copy, i. 3.

[2] Mr. Welch's copy gives "brass."

[3] Welch, vol. i., p. 3, gives 26 lb. of lead. Hazlitt in "Livery Companies of the City of London" says, p. 585: "We gather from some proceedings at the Guildhall in 1350, that the alloy of tin and lead, allowed and recognized by the custom of the trade, was in the proportion of 16 lb. of lead to 112 lb. of tin."

"Also, that no person shall intermeddle with the craft aforesaid, if he be not sworn before the good folk of the craft, truly to work according to the points ordained: such as one who has been an apprentice, or otherwise a lawful workman known and tried among them. And that no one shall receive an apprentice against the usage of the City. And those who shall be admitted therein are to be enrolled according to the usage of the City.

CHALICE AND PATEN
A. F. de Navarro

"Also, that no person, nor stranger, shall make or bring such manner of vessel of pewter into the City for sale, or offer it for sale before that the material has been assayed, on peril of forfeiture of wares. And if the material be allowable upon assay by the Wardens made, then let the goods be sold for such as they [are], and not otherwise. And that no one of the craft shall work privily in secret places vessels of lead, or of false alloy, for to sell out of the City at fairs or markets, to the

scandal of the City, and the damage and scandal of the good folk of the craft: but let the things be shown, that shall be so sent to sell without the City, to the Wardens of the trade before they go out of the same, and by them let the things be assayed.[1] And that no one shall do any work in the trade if he will not answer to his workmanship, upon the assay of his work, in whosesoever hands it be found. And if any one shall be found from henceforth carrying such wares for sale to fairs or to markets or elsewhere in the kingdom before it has been assayed, and, before the Mayor and Aldermen, shall be convicted thereof, let him have his punishment at their discretion, according to his offence, when he shall be so convicted at the suit of the good folk of his trade.

"Also, if any one shall be found doing damage to his master, whether apprentice or journeyman, privily in the way of theft, under the value of 10 pence; the first time, let amends be made unto the master by him or by his surety in the craft; and if he offend a second time, let his punishment be inflicted by award of the craft; and if he offend a third time, let him be put out of the craft.

"Also, as to those of the trade who shall be found working otherwise than is before [set forth], and upon assay shall be found guilty; upon the first default let them lose the material so wrought; upon the second default let them lose the material and suffer punishment at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen; and if a third time they shall be found offending, let them forswear the craft for evermore. [Welch, i. 4, "he shalbe foringed of the craft for evermore."]

"And also, the good folk of the craft have agreed that no one shall be so daring as to work at night upon articles of pewter; seeing that they have regard among themselves to the fact that the sight is not so profitable by night,[2] or so certain, as by day,—to the common profit.

[1] Obviously some mark must have been necessary to show that the wares had satisfied the tests employed.

[2] It was enjoined in the "Statutes of the Streets against Annoyances," printed by Stow, No. 25, that "no hammerman, as a smith, a pewterer, a founder, and

"And also, that if any one of the said craft shall be found in default in any of the points aforesaid, he shall pay 40 pence for the first default; for the second default 6*s.* 8*d.*; and on the third, let it be done with him at the discretion of the Mayor and the Aldermen: and of these payments let there be given one half to the Chamber, to maintain the points aforesaid, and the other half to the Wardens of the said craft, for their trouble and their expenses. And that no one of the trade, great or small, shall take away the journeyman of another man, against the assent and will of his first master, before he shall have fully served his term, according to the covenant made between them, and before the said journeyman shall have made amends to his master for the offences and misprisions committed against him (if he has in any way so offended or misprised), at the discretion of the Wardens of their craft; and whosoever shall do to the contrary of this ordinance, let such person have his punishment at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen.

"Also, that no one of the said craft, great or small, shall be so daring as to receive any workman of the craft if he have not been an apprentice, or if he be not a good workman, and one who can have the testimony of his master or of good neighbours of good condition; and can show that well and truly he has served his master for the time assigned between them."

These ordinances clearly show that a guild in some form or other was in existence; without a guild there was no need for officials such as Wardens, and a search would have been a farce.

These ordinances of 1348 made two qualities of pewter legal, one called fine pewter, which consisted of tin with the addition of as much brass as the tin "of its own nature will take." Of this kind of pewter was made almost everything that was made in pewter, *i.e.*, esquelles (écuelles or porringers), salt-

all artificers making great sound, shall [not] work after the houre of nine in the night, nor afore the hour of foure in the morning, under pain of three shil. foure pence."

cellars, platters, chargers, salvers, pitchers, cruets, chrismatories and any other articles that were made square, ribbed or fluted.

The other quality of pewter was tin and peak in the ratio of 112 : 26.[1]

An early restriction in favour of keeping up the quality of pewter provided that no pewter should be brought into the city of London for sale without being assayed. The city of Rouen up to 1660 had the right of assaying all imported tin that came to Rouen, or was going to Paris by boat up the Seine.

The Pewterers' Company up to the time of the Reformation was a religious as well as a commercial or craft guild, as is shown by the mention in an inventory (1465), quoted by Mr. Welch, i. 33, of a gift to "the bretherhed of our lady thasumpcion of pewtrers crafte," *i.e.*, the brotherhood of Our Lady of the Assumption of pewterers' craft.

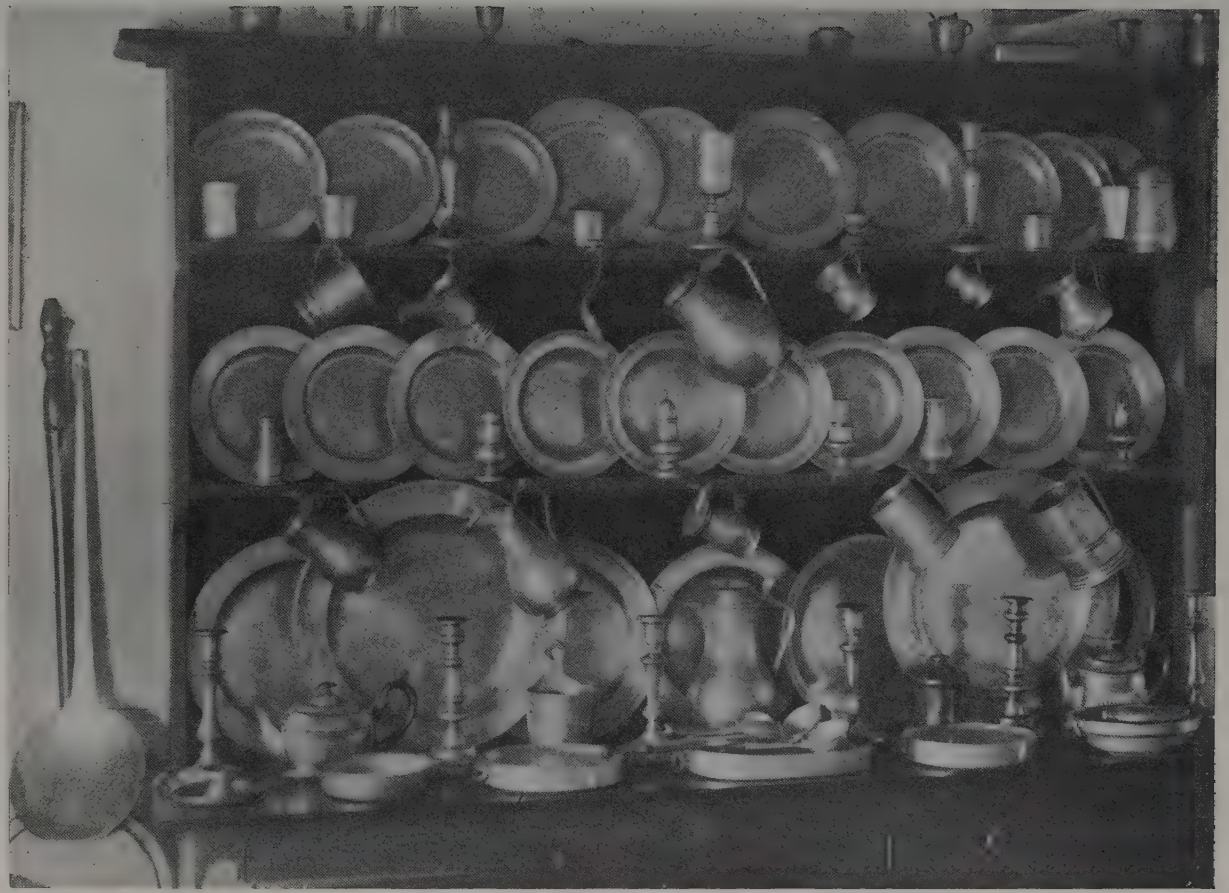
Again, in an inventory (1489-90) of the goods of "the Crafte of pewterars within the Cyte of London" (Welch, i. 68), there is mention of "the Corporacon of the same brethirhode and crafte under the Kynges Seal, and the Common seal of the same . . . with the ymage of thassumpcon of our blessid lady gravyn theryn of sylver."

The fact that the Virgin Mary was regarded as the patroness accounts for the adoption of the "lely pottys," or lily-pots, which occur in the illuminated border of the grant of arms shown in facsimile by Mr. Welch (i. 127).

At the same time the freemen or the yeomanry had a guild of their own dedicated to the Archangel St. Michael. They had their own organization, but were in dependence upon the craft or mystery, *i.e.*, the senior guild.

This fostering of the real spirit and wish to do genuine work was the outcome of the feeling of fellowship, and it was

[1] It is doubtful what "peak" was, but from the composition of this alloy it must have contained lead. Is it possible that "peak" was lead from the Peak district of Derbyshire? The rules expressly state that the three metals used in pewter-making are tin, brass and lead.



An Array of Pewter
W. H. Clarkson

this wish for good honest work which banded the pewterers against foreigners, a comprehensive term that included "aliens," as well as natives who wished to intermete or meddle with the trade. That this feeling for good work was strong is proved by the severe punishment that was sometimes inflicted on the dishonest and on obstinate offenders, viz., expulsion from the trade.

From this religious side of the guild or mystery there developed originally the very strong bonds of union between the members of the fellowship. The same religious feeling urged the members to attend the funerals of deceased craftsmen, and led them to dine together after the funeral: to relieve distress among those of their own circles, as well as among those who on the face of it had no better claim than their own want for the time being.

Under the guild system, loyally maintained both by masters and by men, the "lock-out" or the "strike" was not a possible event. The relation between the employer and the employé was too close; and that between the master and the apprentice was almost parental in character.

The general good quality of English-made pewter was the immediate reason why so many systematic evasions of all rules regarding it were made by those of a fraudulent turn of mind. As long as pewter-ware was sold in the town where it was produced, it was easy to have some check on the quality of the ware; but as soon as it got into the hands of hawkers and tinkers, the perfect control was at an end, and the door was opened for the introduction of foreign wares.

In the reign of Richard II. (1377-1399) the pewterers complained bitterly that their business was being injured by pedlars and tinkers going round the country and recasting the worn-out or damaged articles of their customers. The pewterers complained that these pedlars ruined the alloy with lead so that it was "not worth the fourth part sold for."

This adulterating with lead seems to have been a source of secret profit to these pedlars, as they charged very little for their recasting.

It seems probable that they recast principally the articles in everyday use, as plates and dishes of small size: they could hardly have carried on their backs a considerable stock of moulds, as moulds were heavy and somewhat costly. It would be interesting to know how these roughly cast wares were finished. It is probable that they were either hammered, or scraped and burnished.

At the time of the granting of the charter to the Pewterers'

A Tankard and a Standard Measure
E. P. Warren

Company the trade was of an importance which it is now difficult to realize, for wares in that metal were then becoming every day of more general use. In our time the household use of pewter is extremely rare. It was superseded by chinaware because the latter was the cheaper and the more showy in appearance. Pewter is still used for various articles because experience shows it is the best material for the purpose.

To assist in keeping up the quality, and detecting those who cheated by selling articles of light weight, a definite

weight was fixed for the various articles usually made by the pewterers in 1430.

These weights were as follows:

		Weight per doz. in lb.
Chargers	(the largest)	84
„	next size	60
„	middle	39
„	small hollow	33
Platters	largest size	30
„	next size	27
„	middle	24
„	small middle	22
Dishes	largest size	18
„	middle size	14
„	king's	16
„	small	12
„	hollow	11
„	small hollow	10
Saucers	largest size	9
„	middle	7
„	next the middle	6
„	small	4
Galley dishes and galley saucers (greatest size)		12
Also xiiij dishes and xiiij saucers weighing of the next galley mold.		
Small dishes of galley and galley saucers		12
Cardinal's hatte and saucers		15
Florentine dishes and saucers (greatest size)		13
Next Florentine dishes and saucers		12
Small bolles (bowls)		13

In 1444 the Warden of the Company acquired the right to pre-empt a fourth part of all tin brought into the city, whether by land or sea, at the current price. At the same time the Company obtained the right of assaying all the tin because of the complaints of "the multitude of tin which was untrue and deceyvable brought to the City, the defaults not being perceptible until it comes to the melting."

In 1473 Edward IV. gave the Company its first charter[1] in which the right of assay was confirmed, and also the right of searching pewterers' premises.

[1] It is reproduced in facsimile in Mr. Welch's book.

The charter was made known in the country and led to many country pewterers joining the ranks of the London Company.

This right of search, when carried out in counties so remote as Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Somerset, was costly and troublesome, but it helped the Company to maintain the high standard of English pewter.

This regulation was similar to that under which the Nuremberg pewterers worked (*v.* p. 154).

Men were known by the particular branch of the craft in which they worked. Sadware men worked at heavy articles, such as plates, dishes, chargers and trenchers. The hollow-ware men, as the name implies, worked at large pots, measures, pint pots, quart pots, tankards and flagons of all names and sizes. Triflers worked in trifle metal and plate metal on lighter wares—spoons and, later on, forks, buckles, toys, buttons; but by 1612, from the list given by Mr. Welch, they had taken to make much hollow-ware.

PEWTER BUCKLE

The hammermen, coppersmiths and brasiers were all included among the pewterers, and had full privileges. They formed, however, a separate and smaller organization.

The lay-men worked in lay or ley, *i.e.*, tin alloyed with lead. Hollow-ware was sometimes made of plate metal and sometimes of lay.

Metal confiscated on the ground of being bad in quality was generally stamped with a *broad arrow*. Mention is made of this mark towards the end of the fifteenth century, but, as Mr. Welch aptly remarks, "As it was doubtless the fate of all vessels marked with the broad arrow to be forfeited and melted down without delay, it is not probable that any example so marked is now procurable as a treasured specimen by the collector of old pewter" (i. 47).

Mr. Welch's book teems with references to seizures at fairs in all parts of the country, and with the records of the brass and pewter thus confiscated.

It is not more than ninety years since pewter was advertised to be sold at various fairs in the country. Dugdale's "Traveller" (quoted in the "Reliquary" of 1892, p. 150) mentions that at Nantwich fairs were held thrice yearly for "cattle, horses, clothes, flannels, hardware, pewter and bedding"; at Billesden the fair was held for "pewter, brass and toys"; at Hallaton, for "horses, horned cattle, pewter and clothes"; at Brigstock, "for sheep, brass and pewter"; at Rockingham, "for horses, cows, sheep, hogs, pewter, blackhats and clothes"; so too at Weldon, four times a year. In Yorkshire, Askrigg, Bedall, Coxwold, Grinton, Hedon, Kirkham, Malton, Reeth, Keighley and Stamford Bridge were all places where fairs were held, and at each of them pewter and pewter-wares could be bought.

The marking of pewter was first made compulsory by Act of Parliament in 1503 (19 Hen. VII. c. 6), and the same act prohibited the sale of pewter and brass anywhere but on the premises of a pewterer, except in an open fair and market. This Act also provided that the makers of pewter-wares should mark the same with several marks of their own, to the intent that the makers of such wares shall avow the same wares by them to be wrought.

The use of false scales and weights was forbidden by this same Act.

Complaint was made in the Act, 4 Henry VIII. c. 7,[1] "that many simple and evil disposed persons . . . using the said crafts [*i.e.*, of pewterers and brasiers] daily go about . . . from village to village, from town to town, and from house to house, as well in woods and forests as other places, to buy pewter

[1] These extracts are taken from a book in which the Pewterers' Company caused to be reprinted (in 1741) the various "Statutes established in divers parliaments for the Mystery of the Pewterers of London; and concerning the search of Pewter Brass and untrue Beams and Weights and for deceivable Hawkers . . . with the renewing and confirming of the same Statutes."

and brass. And that knowing thieves and other pickers that steal as well pewter and brass . . . bring such stolen vessels to them in such places to sell, and sell it for little or nought, . . . and bring it to privy places or into corners of cities or towns and there sell much part of it to strangers which carry it over the sea by stealth . . . Also the said persons so going about, and divers others using the said crafts use to make new vessels, and to mix good metal and bad together and make it wrought, and sell it for good stuff where indeed . . . it is not worth the fourth part of that it is sold for to the great hurt deceit and loss of your subjects. Also divers persons, using the said crafts have deceivable and false beams and scales that one of them will stand even with 12 lb. weight at the one end against a quarter of a lb. at the other to the singular advantage of themselves and to the great deceit and loss of your subjects, buyers and sellers with them."

AN ENGLISH MEASURE
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman"*)

To remedy this state of things it was enacted that the selling of pewter and brass, new or old, was to be restricted to open fairs and markets, or in the craftsmen's own dwelling-houses, unless they were desired by the buyers of such wares. The penalty for this was to be £10 and forfeiture of the metal.

At the same time the quality of any pewter wherever made was to be "as good fine metal as is the Pewter and Brass, cast and wrought after the perfect goodness of the same within the City of London." Here the penalty was forfeiture

and sale, half the proceeds to go to the King, half to the finders.

No hollow-ware of pewter, *i.e.*, salts and pots of ley metal, was to be made unless of the size, *i.e.*, assize or standard, of pewter ley metal wrought within the City of London. More than this, "the makers of such wares shall mark with several marks of their own, to the intent that the makers of such wares shall avow the same wares by them to be wrought."

All wares not sufficiently made and wrought and marked, found in the possession of the maker or seller, to be forfeited. If it had been sold the fine paid as well as the ware was to be forfeited.

As might be expected, the compulsory marking of pewter-ware led to abuses, the chief of which was the counterfeiting of well-known pewterers' marks by other workmen, notably so by country makers.

As for the "deceivable hawkers," they were to lose their beam and be fined 20*s.*, with the alternative of the stocks till the next market day and the pillory all market time.

This Act, which was in the main a renewal of Henry VII., was sought by the Company to be made perpetual instead of lasting to the end of the then Parliament.

These good statutes, duly put in execution, caused the said craft to increase and multiply, to the great profit and utility of a great number of the "Kings subjects." It had the disadvantage, however, of causing "divers evil disposed persons, being the Kings subjects born, which have been apprentices and brought up in the exercise of the said craft of Pewterers," to repair "of late, for their singular lucre, into strange regions and countries, and there exercise the said craft, teaching strangers not only the cunning of mixing and forging of all manner of Pewter vessil," but "all things belonging to the said craft of Pewterers."

The craft felt their trade might quite go from them if foreign pewter made by Englishmen could be freely imported, so they sought that such pewter was to be forfeited.

Some amplifications of the Act were made in 25 Henry VIII.,

chiefly in the regulations as to the method of searching, which was to be lawful "for the Master and Wardens of the said craft of Pewterers as well within the City of London, as within every other City, borough and town, where such Wardens be, or to persons most expert in knowledge," appointed by the head officers or governors of the various places.

It was also to be enacted that no strangers born out of this realm were to be retained as apprentices or journeymen. Here the penalty was £10, and the ware made, "in whose hands soever it may be taken or found," was to be forfeited.

Englishmen working beyond sea, "in any strange country or region,"[1] were to have three months' notice to return, and "continually from henceforth dwell and inhabit," or else "shall be taken and reputed as no Englishman, but shall stand and be from henceforth out of the Kings protection."

JACOBEAN PEWTER JUG AND MEASURE
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman"*)

The enactments as to hawkers did not seem to have much effect, as the Company complained of their misuse of royal letters patent and placards, and their continual use of "deceivable weights and beams," and sale of pewter and brass which is not "good, nor truly nor lawfully mixt and wrought."

The Company sought to have the Act, previously temporary, made perpetual.

To check unlawful dealing with the metal it was agreed

[1] The "strange regions" were France, Flanders and Germany.

in 1555 that any one buying metal by night, or of tylers, labourers, boys or women, should be dismissed from the Company if the metal were found to be stolen property, and brought up before the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen for punishment.

On one occasion in 1591 the Company, for 5*s*., bought out a hawker, one John Backhouse, on the ground of his forestalling the Company and deceiving the Queen's subjects. He found a surety to swear that he would never hawk again. The 5*s*. was for him to buy pewterers' tools, with a view to becoming a pewterer (Welch, ii. 8).

The "deceivable hawkers" still gave trouble, and in March, 1621, the Company were again demanding further measures for their own protection, and "it was decided to introduce a Bill into Parliament for suppressing hawkers and the practice of buying of tynn and old pewter by brokers and others not pewterers, selling of old pewter, and transporting and uttering it."

Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth the Company, in 1598, obtained letters patent confirming their privilege of charging a royalty on the smelting and casting of tin. Hazlitt assigns the reason to the pressure of foreign competition, which seriously affected the export of bar-tin.

There was always a strong feeling that trade secrets were not to be divulged either by word of mouth or by working in public. It was this feeling that inspired the prohibition against Englishmen working in foreign parts and the exportation of English moulds. A species of *esprit de corps*, too, led the London pewterers to keep certain methods of procedure from their country brothers in the trade.

In 1601-2 (August 13), "by the generall consent of the whole Company it was ordered uppon the abuse of dyvers of the Company who worketh openly in the shopes with ther great wheles which is ane occasion that pewterers of the country and others shall come to great lyght of farther knowleg, to the great hindraunce of the Company as well at this present as hereafter, now there is comaundement that presently

before bartelmew day [August 24th] they do reforme it, and if in case any of ther shopes be unreformed at bartelmewtyd they shall pay 13*s.* 4*d.*, and at the next fawlt they shall pay 20*s.*, and after they shalbe banyshed, and that no brother of the Company shall buy and sell with them" (Welch, ii. 34).

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the domestic use of pewter had grown far more common, and from the lists of "trifles" given by Mr. Welch (ii. 68-69) in the year 1614, there is much more variety of the ware to be had, in addition to the older patterns. We read of "deep vessells, basons, bowles, pastie plates, new fashion basons, danske pottes, pye coffins, limbecks, thurndell [new fashion of various sizes], and other pottes, hooped quarts, cefters and lavers, still heads."

At the time that the prices of these articles were fixed, the amount of rebate allowed to chapmen was also fixed, usually 1*d.* less in the lb. The price to be paid for giving old pewter to the pewterers in exchange for new was also arranged.

Most of the articles above mentioned were to be sold at a price per lb., tin at £4 7*s.* the cwt. being taken as the basis of the calculation. A small profit was fixed as a rule, 2*d.* per lb., or 1*d.* if the ware was sold to chapmen, except in the case of wares which were of recent introduction or which were sold singly.

But it was in the early years of the seventeenth century that the Company began to lose their control over the trade; They no longer admitted country pewterers to the freedom, and thus provoked a flowing tide of irregular competition which it vainly endeavoured to check. The chief concern of the Company under the Stuarts, and indeed up to the middle of the eighteenth century, was to secure from Parliament a higher degree of protection to the trade. They objected to the royal practice of farming the Cornish tin-mines to influential syndicates, which raised the price of the metal. The Company feared, and not without reason, that England would lose the valuable export trade in pewter to the Dutch, who brought tin more cheaply from the East Indies and were in the habit of manufacturing a debased pewter threepence in the pound below the English standard.

But the tin-miners were too powerful in Parliament, where Cornwall, with its many rotten boroughs, was of course much over-represented, and the Pewterers' Company expended much money in approaching various members of Parliament without result.

Self-advertisement was sternly repressed by the Pewterers' Company, as they seem to have held that a man's reputation in the trade and in the world at large must depend upon the quality of his wares. The adding of *London* or an address was at one time specially forbidden, but the prohibition was repealed later, when it was found that the country makers, for the sake of a slightly larger profit, stamped *London* on their wares.

For many years the touches were quite plain, and some of them, it may be noted, were especially fine specimens of the die-sinker's art. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the labels contain statements as to the quality of the metal employed.

In 1727 it is clear from his own punch that Samuel Smith described his pewter as "*Good mettle made in London*," and in 1736 a pewterer named John Jupe was not afraid to mark his wares "*Superfine French metal*"; while Edward Box, in 1745, has on one of his punches "*No better in London*." This may have meant that his was the best, but the boast shows how the pewterers were beginning to do as to them seemed best.

Puffing of wares was as much deprecated as puffing of self, and it was mentioned as a thing to be avoided in an early regulation.

Taudin's nephew (Jonas Durand) was forbidden to add to his touch "Nephew of Taudin," and even the addition of an address, common enough later, was thought in the case of one maker who merely added "Newgate Street," to savour too much of advertisement.

It was the right of search which originally gave the Company such an enormous hold over all the pewterers both in town and country. This hold was maintained as long as the

search was effective and regularly carried out. During the Civil War, as might be expected, the actual searching became partial and less frequent; this fact, coupled with the discontinuing of the ready admission of country pewterers to the freedom of the Company, led eventually to the total loss of real control over the trade. The search had caused much opposition in the fifteenth century, was tolerated in the sixteenth, partially dropped in the middle of the seventeenth, and its attempted revival caused a renewal of the opposition. It may have been that the feeling of personal liberty was opposed to it altogether. In 1729 it was reported to the Company that much bad pewter was made at Bristol. But the Company were already beginning to feel somewhat uncertain of their position, and they hesitated to make a search at Bristol, not feeling sure whether their jurisdiction extended to places so remote from London. With the dropping of the right of search, the usefulness of the Company practically ceased. As soon as every man did what was right in his own eyes, the quality of the pewter began to deteriorate.

As to the definite position of foreign workmen in England there is very little direct evidence. There seems to have been much more jealousy among the exclusive pewterers than among the goldsmiths. The latter were, as their records show, much more willing to receive a stranger into their ranks. Entries occur, quoted by Herbert, to show that German, Dutch and Swiss goldsmiths were admitted, with due precautions and restrictions, to serve as workmen, and as masters. From Mr. Welch (i. 51) it is clear that a Fleming was settled in Tower Hill as early as 1477, in which year a "pottle" (price 6*d.*) was bought of him to be tested for quality. Undoubtedly there must have been others.

From the provision of the Acts of Parliament passed in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., it would seem the jealousy and the exclusiveness had reached an acute stage, the enactment as to forfeiture of ware being very stringent.

Some few foreigners seem to have made ware approximating the English standard of goodness, but the fact that a man was a foreigner was certainly against him. Taudin's case is

certainly a case in point (cf. Welch, ii. 122). Eventually he became a freeman, but was ordered to employ English freemen.

When English pewter was prohibited abroad, as at Bordeaux in 1658, the English workers did not like it, as it seemed to be an interference with their trade. Their policy was that of the open door, but it was only to open for English wares to go abroad. The Dutch on one occasion prohibited the sale of English pewter, but not the importation of it, which seems rather a curious regulation.

Another instance of a Frenchman wishing to work over in England was that of Mark Henry Chabroles. He was told in August, 1688, that he must not keep any "shopp, by reason he is a stranger and an alien." In 1690 the Court, learning that he was a Protestant refugee, gave him leave to work for "some time longer." This is vague, for he was in England and at work for two years longer. He was then advised, June, 1692 (Welch, ii. 165), to leave the trade of a pewterer, as "the Laws of this kingdome are against his exercising it"; but he was allowed to continue till the 24th of August—a very significant date to a Protestant refugee.

In 1700 W. Sandys wished to have as his apprentice a "ffrench youth naturalised"; this was opposed by the craft.

In 1709 the question arose as to the extent to which foreign pewter was adulterated, and the Pewterers' Company caused experiments to be made with various alloys, and they found (Welch, ii. 177) that 4 oz. tin with ½ oz. lead was 6½ gr. worse than the tin bar they took as their then standard.

4 oz. to 1 oz. lead was 13 gr. worse
3 oz. to 1 oz. „ „ 18 gr. „
2 oz. to 1 oz. „ „ 25 gr. „

Some foreign ware tested was found to be from 14½ to 29 grains worse than fine, French and Spanish being the worst. Some English pewter, selected at hazard from a shop, was 1½ grain less than the test piece at Pewterers' Hall.

Pewter-making in England was apparently limited to a few centres, such as London, York, Newcastle, with later, Exeter, Bideford, Barnstaple, Birmingham, Bewdley, Beverley,

Bristol. In Scotland, Edinburgh and Glasgow were the chief centres; in Ireland, Dublin and Cork.

In the north of England York was the great centre for the craft. The chief rules of the York Company are given on p. 154. Lists of the York pewterers are to be found in the "Reliquary," vol. vii., viii.

Bewdley was perhaps the most important centre of the pewter industry in the Midlands. It is not many years since the moulds used in the trade there were sold and passed into the hands of Mr. Yates of Birmingham.

In France the manufacture was more universal. Besides Paris there was early work done at Lyons,[1] Limoges, Poitiers, Laon, Tournay, Besançon, Troyes, Tours, Amiens, Rouen, Reims, Dijon; also at Chartres, Saumur; in the south, at Nîmes, Montpellier, Angoulême, Chinon, Bordeaux, Angers, Toulouse.

In the Netherlands and Flanders the chief centre was undoubtedly Bruges and then Ghent, Mons, Namur and Liège. Much, too, was made at Brussels and Antwerp; also at Amsterdam, Breda and elsewhere.

Tin was largely used at an early date by the goldsmiths in Greece and Italy, the supply being forwarded to them *via* Venice, always an important centre.

In Germany, Nuremberg and Augsburg were the two chief centres, and pewter-work can be traced back quite as far as in France or elsewhere, one of the earliest records being an enactment made in 1324 at Augsburg, providing for visits of inspection made to the workshops by the sworn masters. These masters were empowered to test or assay the metal from the point of view of purity, and to inflict a fine upon those whose work was so bad that it had to be rejected and destroyed. Nuremberg records, too, show that pewterers worked there at an early date. Karel or Carel, a well-known maker, flourished there in 1324, with, later on in the same century, Sebaldus Ruprecht.

In Spain, Barcelona seems to have been the headquarters

[1] Lyons was noted for its pewter-ware as early as 1295.

of the tin and pewter trade, and the place is well suited, by its natural position, for a distributing and manufacturing centre. No trace, however, of any corporation or guild has been found prior to the fifteenth century. The statutes resemble those of the workers in more northern nations.

The Italians used large quantities of tin, pewter having been made at Bologna and in other towns, possibly for tinning other metals. Much of the trade was in the hands of itinerant workmen—*stagnarini*—who travelled from place to place, very much much after the manner of our tinkers, a set of men who were at one time indispensable to the housewife.

English pewter seems to have always enjoyed a good reputation both here and in foreign countries. This was mainly due to the naturally good quality of the English tin from Cornwall (it being practically one of the purest varieties of tin that is obtainable as an article of commerce), and also to the restrictions imposed upon the workers, whether masters or journeymen, as to the quality of the metal they used. Mr. Welch (ii. 137) mentions an instance of a master who broke up twenty dozen plates because they were not quite up to the standard required by the Company.

As to the reputation and skill of the English pewterers Harrison says: "In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter [of an ordinarie making] (I saie that, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deepe like basons, and are indeed more convenient both for sawce [broth] and keeping the meat warme[1]) is esteemed almost so pretious, as the like number of vessels that are made of fine silver, and in manner no lesse desired among the great estates, whose workmen are nothing so skilful in that trade as ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so great, as we have here in England."

One branch of the many into which the foreign pewterers' trade was subdivided was that of the nail-maker. These pewter nails were used for many purposes where we should now

[1] The chief drawback to the use of pewter is the fact that the viands served upon it so soon become cold. The same defect is found in the use of silver plate.

use safety-pins, and sometimes, possibly locally, for decorative purposes, being used as studs in leather.

A belt,[1] studded with about 350 tiny round-headed nails to the square inch, was bought from a peasant at Méran in the Tyrol. It had the appearance of about 100 years of age, and though showing signs of wear showed no signs of bad usage. It was 34 inches long by 5 inches wide, and but few of the tiny nails had dropped out. The design was more suited to (and was probably derived from) cross-stitch needlework, and was too minute to be effective.

Pewterers who did not make their wares up to the proper standard were, after being warned and fined, ordered to bring in their touches, which were then confiscated. They were then ordered to use a new touch, either bearing a knot or a double *f* (cf. Welch, i. 254). This enforced use of a punch, in itself bearing the visible sign of disgrace, was tantamount to compelling the offending pewterer, if a master, to shut up his shop and become a journeyman again.

In the lists of the yeomanry there are many entries of women's names, but their names do not appear in the lists of the livery.[2] As the original guild or mystery was a religious organization as well as a craft guild, there is nothing surprising in this, and mention is made of both brethren and sustren. The latter could employ apprentices, but were not allowed to work themselves.

Among the touches of the Pewterers' Company there are those of Ellen Morse and Mary ——. "Elizabeth Royd" occurs on some church plate at Sutton, Rutland. The name, however, on another specimen seems to be Royden.

There were women pewterers in York, as is shown by a list of the Company made in 1684, in which the names of Jane Loftas and Kath. Hutchinson appear ("Reliquary," vol. vii.,

[1] In the possession of Mr. C. Harrison Townsend.

[2] Welch, ii. 92, mentions that Katharine Wetwood was sworn and made free of the Company; and, on p. 179, Mary and Elizabeth Witter were admitted to the freedom; and again, p. 191, Mary and Elizabeth Cleeve were also made free of the Company.

N.S., p. 205). In 1683 there was another, Emmatt Smith; in 1684, one Jane Waid, and her name comes in again in 1691. No doubt there were others whose names are unrecorded.

Of women pewterers in France[1] there is mention in Bapst's list of the workers of the fourteenth century of a certain Isabel de Moncel (1395). There is no statement made as to her being a widow, so she may have been either the widow or the daughter of Oudin du Moncel, whose date is given as 1383.

In 1462 mention is made of the Veuve Domey (*miraclier*), but the town is not specified. By the rules of 1613 they were allowed to keep a workshop as long as they remained widows.

Hawkers and chapmen gave trouble to the craftsmen from time to time; so, too, did the Crooked Lane men. These men seem to have been workers in tinware of a kind which they either made themselves or caused to be made for them, or else which they, somehow or other, in spite of sundry Acts of Parliament, imported from abroad. They had been apparently tolerated for some time, and in 1634 (Welch, ii. 94, 96) measures were ordered to be taken for "suppressing of the excesse and abusive making of Crooked Lane ware, whereby the so doing and counterfeiting of the reall commodity of Tynn is to the greate deceipt or wrong of his Ma^ties subjects." What measures were taken does not appear, but they cost £50, so presumably they were of a legal description. In 1669 the Crooked Lane men tried to get a charter of incorporation, but nothing is known as to their request. As nothing is said of it they probably failed, especially as the Girdlers' Company joined with the Pewterers in paying for a counsel to plead against them.

[1] In 1300 there was in Paris "une batteresse d'étain."

CHAPTER IV

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE

PEWTER is manufactured now, as it was five hundred years ago and more, by casting and hammering, or, to be more exact, for some things by casting, for others by hammering, for others again by both methods; the finishing being done sometimes by hand, sometimes by turning on a lathe, followed by burnishing.

Moulds, then, have always been a necessity for the pewterer, and to the necessity for simplicity in the ordinary moulds the simplicity in pewter-ware itself is mainly due.

The making of moulds for casting pewter is a costly process, and for this reason the making of new moulds was not an enterprise to be lightly entered into, nor too frequently. In early times the moulds belonged to the craft guild or fellowship, and were lent to the brethren who required them, provided they knew how to make proper use of them. In York there was a special proviso that the moulds were to be lent without favour.

Mr. Welch (i. 15) quotes a list of moulds bought in 1425:

1 holow scharyder.
1 C plat. molde.
1 C dysche molde.
1 C sawsyrmolde
1 medyll plat molde.
1 medyll dysche molde.
1 medyll sawsyr molde.
1 kyngs ys dysche molde.
1 holow dysche molde.
1 holow sawsyr molde.
1 salydysche molde.
1 saly sawsyr molde.

1 salū bolle molde.
1 qware bolle molde.
1 trechor molde.

Each of these moulds is described as having been in four parts, and the set weighed nearly 120 lb. They were let out on hire to the brethren of the craft as they were required for business purposes.

The moulds belonging to the Pewterers' Company at York in 1616 were as follows:

Paten from Ashill, Ilminster

One each for chargers of 3, 4 and 7 lb. respectively, least dubler, brod border dish, unmouldishe, 1 lb. dish, ¾ dish, Banquitin dish, depe 3 lb. platter, 2 lb. half depe, 2 lb. depe, 1½ lb. depe, 1 lb. depe, ¾ dishe, great trensher plaite, small trensher plate, small saucer.

In 1683 other moulds were added similarly described except one "lardg and one less Biskitt plate moulds."

Given a good mould, well and truly made in gun-metal, there is no difficulty in making a good casting with good metal. The mould is prepared with white of egg and red ochre[1] before use; this slightly roughens the surface of the mould, and prevents any striations of the metal. On removal from the mould the pewter has a white and frosted appearance, which of course soon disappears in the subsequent processes of turning and finishing. Small objects can be cast bright without difficulty in metal moulds. Lithographic stone has also been used.

[1] Finely powdered pumice or sandarac was formerly used.

Pewter may be cast in sand, plaster of Paris, stone, or metal moulds. Naturally, when sand is used, the casting would need to be finished on a lathe or, as an equivalent, a rotating table. Plaster moulds will only serve for a limited number of castings, and for this reason were probably used only as steps in the making of a complete model from which gun-metal moulds could be made afterwards. When once moulds in a permanent material were thus secured, the trouble in the production of thousands of castings would be very small: and the better the internal finish of the moulds, the less work would be required on the surfaces of the castings.

A Norwegian Tankard

Bapst, in describing some early German pewter dishes, says that if it were not impossible, from the nature of the material, to cast pewter in a wooden mould, he should have thought that the ornament on these trays had been so cast; and he goes on to say that the lines of the grain of the wood, which show quite plainly on the pewter, may have been caused by the metal having been run into a mould made in plaster from a wooden original. This is quite a likely way to account for the grain markings, and instances have been known of coins (found in Kent) which were supposed to have been cast direct in a wooden mould.

The best material for moulds for casting pewter is gun-metal. These were fitted with tangs and wooden handles for convenience in lifting and handling. There is a set of moulds in the Museum at Ghent which were used up to 1864 for

making the bowls, mugs, forks and spoons for the *kulders* or children at the orphanage in that town. By the side of the moulds are specimens of the above utensils in the rough, *i.e.*, just as they have been taken out of the moulds, and also specimens of the same articles when finished, and also specimens after undergoing some wear.

By the courtesy of a London pewterer the writer has inspected the whole stock of moulds that once belonged to the firm of Townend and Compton, many of which are in use at the present time. Some of these moulds are simple enough, viz., those for casting the body of a tankard or a porringer, which are in two pieces only; but some, such as those for small handles, where three or more pieces are required, are much more complicated.

Where possible a pewter vessel is cast in one piece, as in the case of spoons, forks, blood-porringers, etc. Where, however, the form is complicated, as in a jug with a wide belly or a standing cup, the piece is cast in sections and then built up.[1] The public-house pewters and the small spirit measures with bulging sides will be found to consist of two pieces and the handle; the joining of the lower part to the rest may easily be detected, though in some cases it is not quite obvious at first sight.

When the tankard with straight sides came in, it was found easiest to cast the barrel in one piece, the handle in another and the bottom in a third, and set all up into one whole. Glass bottoms were substituted for those of pewter, partly for the sake of lightness, especially in a quart pot, partly, no doubt, for the sake of allowing the consumer to see the condition and the quality of his beverage. These glass bottoms rest upon a moulding of pewter, are luted with putty or some similar substance, and then fixed with a turned rim of pewter soldered in its place. Britannia-metal tankards are so treated at the present time.

Handles, if cast hollow, are usually cast in halves, subsequently joined, and then soldered to the body of the tankard.

[1] Ewers of the Briot type are cast in pieces in this way.

Plates are cast, and turned, and finished on an anvil; at least plates of good quality are so treated. The marks of the hammer will be seen on the underneath side of the "booge," in four or five concentric rows. This hammering gives strength and solidity to the metal and finish to the plate.

Large dishes and well-dishes are made entirely with the hammer from rolled sheets, and fashioned on a swage.

The metal can be spun in a lathe and was frequently so treated, being alloyed with antimony for the purpose. Nowa-

(*a*) TWO ENGLISH SALTCELLARS (*b*)

days, since the discovery of Britannia metal—itself a pewter—spinning is generally confined to that alloy. Pewter can, of course, be spun, but the workman would prefer to spin the article in any metal rather than pewter, mainly because it is not usually thus treated at the present time.

The handles of ear-dishes are now cast separately and soldered on afterwards. In old time pewterers got into trouble for not making dishes and handles in one piece, and there is no reason why they should not thus be made, except that the mould without the ears can be used for the lower portion of some other article.

In the case of saltcellars there are two methods of manu-

facture; either piece-moulds or building up. The small salt-cellar (*b*) on p. 59 is cast in a mould of three pieces and turned afterwards; the other (*a*) is cast in two halves (the bowl being one part, the foot another), which are finished separately and then soldered together.

Pewter could be made now just as good as it ever was, if not better in quality, as the method of working has not changed to any great extent.

In the pewterer's trade the various qualities of the metal are still known as plate, trifle and ley—the *plate* being first quality, the other two being two varieties of second quality rather than separate classes by themselves.

Much of the modern pewter from Nuremberg and elsewhere, if examined closely, will be seen to show the traces of the piece-moulds into which the metal seems to have been forced by pressure. The beakers with views of the various towns, etc., on the side are produced in this way, and the excessive sharpness of the detail—such as it is—is thus explained. No working up is devoted to the outside as a rule, not even to the removal of the "seams," but the inside is turned down in a lathe till it is as thin as possible—consistently with fair handling.

Burnishing is done as a rule while the article is revolving rapidly in the lathe. The burnishers are, as are most of the pewterer's tools, of brightest steel, and of various shapes and sizes, according to the work to be done with them, and are lubricated with soap and water. If this were not done, the heat generated by the friction between the rotating work and the burnisher would cause the work to stick to the burnisher.

The lathe used by the pewterers was a simple contrivance. It consisted, as will be seen from the illustration,[1] of a head-stock and a tail-stock, with a simple mandrel worked by a boy or unskilled labourer, who was sometimes known as a "turn-wheel."

Other tools used by the early workers are mentioned by Bapst, who quotes from a Rouen inventory of 1402: "Unes

[1] From Havard's "Dict. de l'Ameublement."

armères à mectre estamerie, ung tour les fourquettes, l'establie appartenant au dit mestier, xiiii fers a tourner, ii fers carrez à tourner, ii fers a souder en goutière, i fer tort, iiii escouvines [brushes], i bruniseur [burnisher] à ii mains, ii croches et i gratine, une bernagoe [scraper], une lime, unes bequectes [pincers], vii arbres [cores] dont il y en a iii grans et iiii petis, i chinole à tourner, uns petiz molles [moulds], iii culliers [ladles] de fer, iii petits martiaulx, unes chegalles, i petit chisel de fer, un petit moulle de sallière basses avec le convescle et les empraintes, i moulle de sallière a pié tieulx [? piédouche] avec le couvescle et les empraintes, i moulle de sallière en façon de gallice avec le couvescle et les empraintes, i moulle de gobelles de plon, ii moules de charnières de glan, l'ung grant et l'autre petit, ii moules de pommettes a mectre sur salières, unes petites balanches, i petit compaz, i petit bouquet de fer, ii balenches de bosc [bois], un percheur a perchier poz, ii vieux soufflés [soufflets], une queux, vi livres d'estain tant ouvré que à ouvrer, iiii livres quatre quarterons de mort éstain [tin alloyed with lead]."

A Pewterer at Work

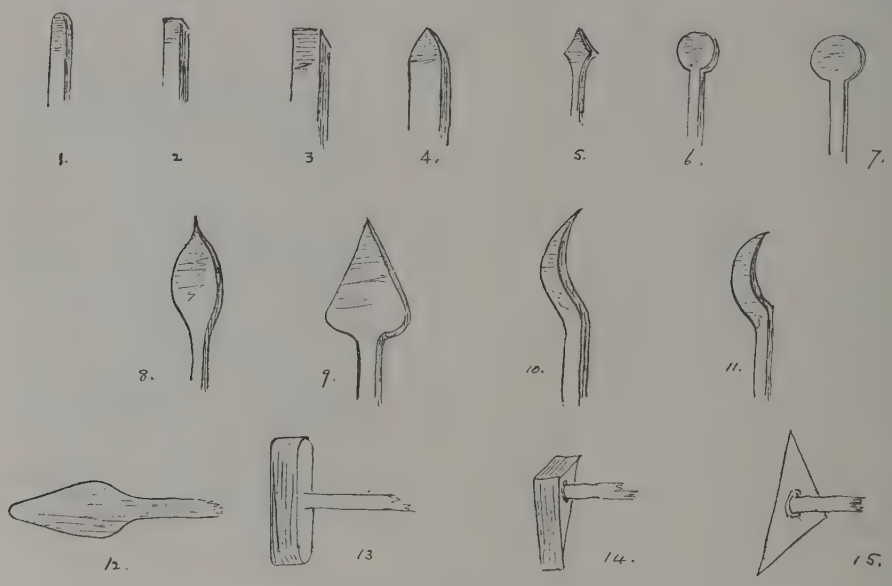
It is just five hundred years since the above tools were in use. It will be seen that the essential tools were practically the same.

The lathe tools are as follows: gouges, chisels, hooks, point tools, right and left, very similar to those used for turning any other soft metal. No. 1 is a gouge—one of a set; 2 and 3 chisels. Nos. 4-7 are types of tools for inside work—they vary in size according to the section of the work in hand. Nos. 8-11 are used for turning and burnishing. The tool No. 12 is made as a spear-grater for scraping, and as a spear-burnisher for burnishing. Nos. 13-15 are varieties of hooks, for

scraping purposes. The peculiarity of these hooks is that they are held underneath the tool-rest and not upon it, as in the case of other turning-tools. Mr. Englefield says that this is unique in his experience of turning-tools.

Another peculiarity of the pewterer's lathe tools is the apparently inordinate length of the handle.

It is highly interesting and instructive to watch a pewterer at work at the present day. One can then realize clearly the enormous space in the history of domestic life that is bridged



SOME PEWTERER'S TOOLS

over by the humble pewterer and his wares. The conditions of modern life have changed for the better, for the worse possibly in some few respects, but our pewterer goes on using the old moulds of a couple, or more, of centuries ago, or if he have enough enterprise in him, the new moulds that modern necessities have called into existence. The metal, however, that he uses now can be of the quality the purchaser or the pewterer wishes; there are no restrictions now enforced.

The other tools of the pewterer are not many, and the chief are the hammer, the anvil or the stake, and the lathe.

GUILD-CUP, NOW BELONGING TO THE ART WORKERS' GUILD

Hammers, like those of the masons, have rather short handles, and are longer in the iron or steel portion than those used by carpenters. The pane, or part which gives the blow, varies in many ways, chiefly in size and in section, some of them being almost perfectly flat, while others are considerably convex. To be efficient they must be spotlessly clean and brightly polished, as otherwise they would mark the pewter at every blow.

The anvil, which is occasionally covered with soft leather, is also as highly polished as a speculum. The lathe was and is an indispensable adjunct to the pewterer. In its main outlines it is similar to any other lathe, but it differs in two or three essential points, *e.g.*, the lathe centres are higher from the ground level than is usual with a wood-turner's lathe, as the pewterer works standing up with rather long-handled tools.

The bed, on the contrary, is much lower, so that the centres, head- and tail-stocks of the lathe being much raised there is plenty of room, if required, for turning, finishing and burnishing the largest plates and dishes.

A genuine old pewterer's lathe was shown at work on a car in the Lord Mayor's procession of Mr. Alderman Staples in 1885, one of the few City magnates who showed any real interest in the pewterer's craft, and who was baulked, officially, in his wish to see it officially revived.

From the illustration on p. 61 it will be seen that the lathe was turned by an assistant, a "turnwheel,"[1] as he was called. As the lathe was not equipped with any complex system of speed gears as are our modern lathes, any variation of speed must, within limits, have been given by the "turnwheel," acting in obedience to the word of command. This would be possible with practice, not otherwise.

At the present time the lathes used are driven by power, and run far more smoothly than any lathe driven by hand. The pewterer's lathe would be hard to drive by the foot power of the turner himself, owing to the nature of the material, if he were required to turn out perfect work.

[1] The turnwheel was the only person in the workshop who was not a regular apprentice or journeyman. He might not help in any other capacity.

Though the lathe was a recognized "tool" in the pewterer's workshop, its use was at first limited apparently to the finishing of some and not for that of all wares. In the illustration on p. 61 the workman is working upon the body of a tankard, a branch upon which lathe-work was necessary. In saucer-making it was considered in 1595 wrong to depend upon the lathe for giving the castings their final form, so the Court of the Pewterers' Company agreed "that never herafter any tryffler or any other of the Company shall at any tyme turne any sawcers to be sold, but only those wh. shal be beaten with the hammer appon payne of forfaytur [of] all such sawcers found turned." To make certain of the due observance of this regulation it was decided "that every man w^{ch} hath such moldes shall bring them unto the house before Satterday next" (Welch, ii. 24).

CHAPTER V

DOMESTIC USE OF PEWTER

PEWTER was, in the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, of sufficient importance to be specially mentioned in official documents.

In a pipe-roll of Edward I. we read that leaden (more probably pewter) vessels were used for cooking the boiled meats for the feast given to celebrate the King's coronation. By 1290 this King had over three hundred pieces of pewter plate in his possession, the pieces consisting of dishes, platters and salts. Clement of Hungary in 1328 possessed nearly a gross of porringers.

In the fourteenth century pewter was used more in the houses of families of rank than those of lesser degree, and it was usual even in large houses to hire pewter services for special occasions, such as Christmas festivities.

In 1380 Michelet le Breton supplied to Charles VI. 6 dozen dishes and 12 dozen porringers, weighing 474½ marks.

In 1390 the households of high dignitaries such as the Archbishops of Rheims and Rouen were thoroughly equipped with pewter.

It seems from Jean de Jeaudun that the French pewter had more style about it than that made in England. Mention of everything that could be made in pewter is found in inventories of the time, viz., porringers, flagons, cans, cups and tankards (with or without covers), plates, dishes and almsdishes, cruets, decanters and candlesticks.

Isabelle of Bavaria in 1401 bought from Jehan de Montrousti for her kitchen 9 dozen dishes and 23 dozen porringers, weighing 782 marks.

Charles VII. in 1422 bought from Jehan Goupil of Tours 64 dishes and 158 porringers.

The various City Companies[1] had services of pewter, and it was in general use, in the Inns of Court, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and, according to Hazlitt, up to a recent date.

At the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge[2] the colleges had their garnishes of pewter, but with few exceptions there is little now remaining. Queen's College, Oxford, has perhaps the best specimens.[3]

Pewter-ware began to come into more general use by the gentry in the fifteenth century, but it was in price at first beyond the reach of the humbler classes. Gradually, however, it began to supersede the domestic utensils of wood. Harrison, in his "Description of England," wrote: "The third thing they tell of is the exchange of vessells, as of treene [*i.e.*, wood] platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in olde time, that a man should hardly find foure pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house." "Old time" is sufficiently vague an expression, but as Harrison wrote shortly before 1587 it is easy to understand what he meant.

ENGLISH MEASURE
King's College, Cambridge

In the Reading Museum there are some wooden dishes

[1] Cp. the records of the Goldsmiths' Company, 1470: "For a garnish of 2 dozen pewter vessels to serve the company, £1 17*s.* 6*d.*" (Herbert.)

[2] In 1895 at an exhibition held in Cambridge some small objects from King's College were shown, one of which is illustrated on this page.

[3] Queen's College, Oxford, has seventy-two specimens, mostly made by and bearing the marks of Samuel Ellis. Some of it bears the additional marks of other makers, such as A. Cleeve, Rd. Norfolk, Thos. Chamberlain.

(one square, two round) exhibited side by side with the pewter by which they were superseded.[1]

One of the rules at Clifford's Inn was to the effect that each member was to pay thirteen pence for vessels of pewter, and was bound to have in the kitchen "two plates and dishes of pewter each day for his own use." Some of the Staple Inn pewter is now in the Guildhall Museum.

The following four instances of the mention of pewter are of interest:

In the will of John Ely (1427), vicar in Ripon Minster, mention is made of "di. dus. garnes de vessell de pewdre cum ij chargiours," or the half of a garnish, *i.e.*, of a set of twelve of each.

In the inventory of John Danby of Alveston (1444) mention is made of "ix pece led and pewd[er] vessall ij.s. iiij^{d}."

By the will of Elizabeth, Lady Uvedale (1487), a bequest is made of "a hoole garnish of peautre vessel, two round basin of peautre."

There were in the inventory of the College of Aukland (1498) "xx pewder platters, xij pewder dishes, viii salters, ii payre of potclyppes, j garnishe of vessell, j shaving basyn."

At the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries very little pewter was confiscated. In an inventory of the goods of the Cell of Stanlowe (1537) there is mention of "iij counterfettes otherwise called podingers of pewter, whearof on[e] olde"; and in the kitchen were "vij pewther dyshes" ("Reliquary," vii., 1893, p. 30). At Whalley Abbey (*ib.*, p. 36) there were "iiij garnisste of pewter vessell."

Harrison, who has been quoted before, wrote at the end of the sixteenth century that "Such furniture of household of this mettall, as we commonly call by the name of vessell, is sold usually by the garnish which doth conteine 12 platters, 12 dishes, 12 saucers, and those are either of silver fashion or else with brode or narrow brims, and bought by the pound,

[1] In one country house the writer has seen the pewter used by three successive generations, and also the Chinese ware by which it was superseded, all religiously preserved.

which is now valued at sevenpence, or peradventure at eightpence."

When more was required than the limited garnish, additional plate could be hired, called "feast-vessels," and the letting out of such was a source of much profit to the lenders.

Two English Candlesticks

The pewterers clubbed together and shared the profits if more was required than was in one man's available stock.

The hiring out of new pewter-ware was forbidden, though no doubt the rule was, like the other regulations of the Pewterers' Company, often broken.

From the Northumberland Household Book we learn that

the price of hiring was fourpence for each dozen articles per annum. For buying pewter the same book contains: "Item, to be payd . . . for the bying of vj dossen nugh pewter vessels for servyng of my house for oone hole yere after vj shillings the dossen."

In the same book (1500) is a note that pewter vessels were too costly to be common.

From the "Ménagier de Paris," the requisite service of pewter for a dinner of state was 6 dozen écuelles, *i.e.*, porringers, the same of small plates, $2\frac{1}{2}$ dozen large dishes, 8 quart and 12 pint tankards, and 2 dishes for the scraps for the poor.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the following was one of the regulations of the royal household (Cap. 20):

"Officers of the squillery[1] to see that all the vessels, as well silver as pewter, be kept and saved from stealing."

This shows that pewter held an honourable position in the furniture of a house, and bears out the note quoted above, that pewter was too valuable to be common.

Harrison (1577-1587) wrote: "Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen and some other wealthy citizens, it is not geson[2] to behold generallie their great provision of tapestrie, Turkie work, pewter, brass, and fine linen and thereto costlie cupboards of plate, worth five or six hundred or a thousand pounds to be deemed by estimation."

In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century pewter may be said to have begun to be commonly used by the people as well as in many households of quality, as the following inventories will clearly show.

To this period of display pewter must be attributed the appearance of the highly decorated work, beginning with that of Briot (1550) and followed by that of Enderlein, and later by the florid work of the Nuremberg workers (1600-1660). The wares of the ewer and basin type may have been designed for use on ceremonial occasions, but the smaller elaborate plates, such as the Kaiserteller and the plates with religious subjects, though sometimes called and possibly used as patens, were

[1] *I.e.*, scullery, from the O.F. *escuelles*, *i.e.*, *écuelles*.

[2] Uncommon.

no doubt intended to be used as decorative adjuncts to the house.

In the sixteenth century in France, according the "Ménagier de Paris," the *bourgeois* class made brave displays of pewter-ware on their sideboards and dressers, in imitation of the similar displays of gold and silver made by the upper classes. The *bourgeois* consoled themselves by calling their pewter "à façon d'argent," a consolation for which, no doubt, they had to pay the pewterers.

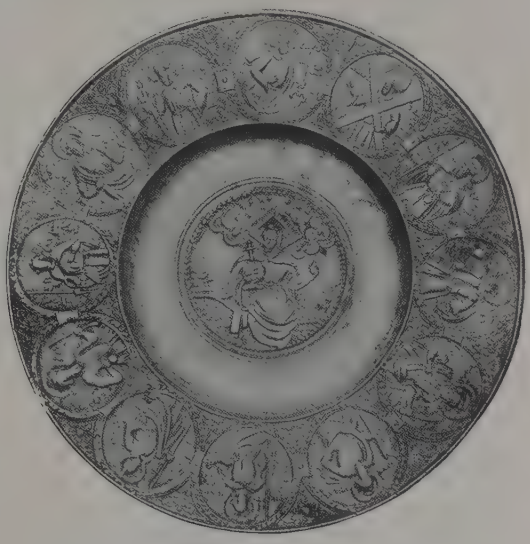


Plate with Medallion of Apostles

At that time, just as now, there was a craze for *nouveautés de Paris*, and it led people to pay fancy prices for their pewter. In the "Journal d'un Voyage à Paris" (1657) it is stated that "L'après disnée nous fusmes nous promener à pied, et, en passant devant la maison de cet homme qui a trouvé le secret de raffiner si bien l'estain qu'il puisse resister au feu autant de temps que l'argent et les autres métaux les plus difficiles à fondre, nous y entrasmes et treuvasmes que c'est une merveille de voir que dans un plat de son estain il en fait fondre un d'argent. Voilà un beau secret découvert, et qui faict desjà que les personnes de condition se servent de sa vaisselle, qui couste moins et faict le mesme effet que celle d'argent, estant aussi belle, aussi legère, et d'autant d'esclat. Il les vend cent sols le livre, quand ce sont des pièces où il y a peu de façon: celles qui en ont beaucoup, il les vend plus cher."

The Archbishop of Canterbury in 1575 had 370 lb. of pewter in the kitchen in jugs, basins, porringers, sauce-boats,

pots and candlesticks; also pewter measures in the wine-cellars, together with saltcellars. He had more, too, in his house at Addiscombe.

Lord Northampton's kitchen alone had about three cwt. of pewter vessels, and his house may be taken as a typical example of the larger establishments of that time. In households of this size there were yeomen of the ewerie whose business it was to look after the pewter.

A Jacobean Candlestick
A. F. de Navarro

In the inventory of Sir Wm. Fairfax's house at Gilling in 1594 (given in "Archaeologia," vol. xlviii.), there were in the "wine-seller one quart pewter pott: in the pantrye 2 basins and ewers of pewter valued at xiij^{s} iiij^{d} and ij pewter voyders trays—valued at x^{s}. In the kytchine xij sawcers, xij dishes, xij great dishes, xij great platters, xij lesser platters, iiij chargers, sawcers xij, dishes xij." Of new vessels there were "xij sawcers, xij sallite dishes, ij dozin great dishes, xviij great platters, xviij lesser platters, and i charger of the greatest sorte. Valued altogether xiiij^{li}. vi^{s}. viii^{d}."

In an inventory of Sir Thomas Hoskyns, Kt., of Oxted, in 1615, there were in the kitchen "8 dozen of pewter dishes of all sortes, five dozen of sawcers, thirteene candlestickes of pewter, fower pewter flagons."

From a "trew inventory taken in 1618 of the goods and chattles of Sir Richard Poullett, late of Herryott in the C^{o} of

Southampton, Knight, deceased," were: "in the pantry and seller 9 pewter candlesticks: in the wine seller a still of pewter with a brasen bottome: in the kytchin and the kytchin entry—one pewter flaggon pott, nyne pewter candlesticks, 14 small sallet pewter dishes." Then follows a list of "Boylemeat dishes,

TWO FRENCH CANDLESTICKS
G. Frampton

deep platters, large platters, washing bason, pye plates, small d°, small saucers and 7 old counterfett dishes, 14 old sawcers, and 18 pieces of severall sortes of old pewter."

At Walton the inventory (dated 1624) runs: "There should be of nyne severall sizes of pewther dishes which came from

Newcastle, and have not your name on them, 6 dishes of each size, which in all is 54 dishes"—but of these it states 9 are missing.

"There came with the dishes above 2 long dishes for Rabbittes which are both in place . . . likewise 12 saucers whereof . . . now wanting 8, also 2 chargers, 2 long py-plaites and a voyder which are all in place. All the above . . . are of the silver dishes fashion.

"Other silver fashioned dishes changed at Beverley at severall tymes by Ralph Hickes whereof now in place which are marked with your own and my Lady's name." Of these there ought to have been 12 and a rabbit dish, but 6 were missing. Of "other vessell in the kitchin chest which are now in place," of various sizes, "27 dishes, 1 charger, 4 pye plaites, one Cullender and one baking pan."

One more inventory[1] of pewter and other ware is that taken at Chastleton House near Moreton-in-the-Marsh in 1632. It is interesting as showing the pewter equipment of a country mansion at that time.

"In the Gallery.

"Item, Pewter platters of divirse sortes, 8 doz and 10 platters, one large boiler, five basons, two spout potts, seaven pie plates, three great flaggons, two quart potts, one pott costerne, one cullinder, one baie pott, one puddinge coffin, ix candlesticks, nine chamber potts weighinge 443 li."

This was valued then at £22 3*s*., or just one shilling per pound.

In France, at the same time, in the inventory of Marie Cressé mention is made that "Dans la salle servant de cuisine, il a esté trouvé, en pots, plats, escuelles et autres ustensiles d'étain, cent-vingt-deux livres d'étain sonnant, prisé la livre douze sols" (Paris, 1633).

Here the difference in the price is worth noting.

The main portion of the Chastleton pewter is now on a dresser in the kitchen, extending the whole length of one wall. Much of the pewter is of a date subsequent to the making of

[1] From "Three Centuries in N. Oxfordshire."

the above inventory, as the names and stamps of Samuel Ellis (1748), Robert Nicholson (1725), A. Nicholson (?), Townend and Compton (1809), John Home (1771), W. Brayne (?), clearly prove.

A smaller dresser with better kept plates is in one of the passages upstairs, and some large chargers are displayed in the embrasure of a window on the main staircase.

The pewter is not used, and that in the kitchen has assumed a venerable appearance, in keeping with the kitchen, which has never been re-whitewashed since the house was built in 1611.

There is one curiously shaped dish in the kitchen equipment—perfectly straight on one side and oval on the other—like the tin receptacles that are used when meat is roasted on a jack in front of the fire.

Pewter played an important part in the first colonial households in America, as it was the only available ware in many cases. But it had to give place, as in England, to the introduction of china.

Boston was the chief seat both of its manufacture and also of the distribution of English pewter. The use of whale oil necessitated the introduction of lamps of a form peculiar to the country.

In the century from 1680 to 1780 the use of pewter at first was steadily continued, but later, owing to the introduction of domestic pottery from abroad and from our own Staffordshire works, began to decline.

A similar state of things prevailed in France, in spite of Louis XIV.'s appointment of a Royal Pewterer. The King could compel his nobles to give up to him most of their silver plate, but he could not compel them to go back to the use of pewter, even with the grant of special permission (previously restricted to church plate) to adorn it with lacquer and gold. With the middle classes it continued to be used.

Another cause in France more particularly was the edict of Turgot abolishing the exclusive privileges of the *jurandes*, or trade corporations, on the ground that the free right of labour was the first and most sacred right of humanity.

Pewter, however, managed to keep its place in the kitchens of the houses of the gentry, and in many houses of the middle class. In some of the larger domestic establishments it continued to be used regularly till within the last thirty years, and there are even now two or three houses where it is still used in the servants' hall.

Any inventories taken now of a middle-class house would, probably, contain no mention of pewter at all. It would occur in some old family houses which have not changed hands, and in which the pewter has been reverently laid aside, in some cases with the chinaware by which it was immediately superseded.

There is, probably, much pewter at this moment lying stowed away neglected in garrets and lofts in many parts of the country.

Plates and dishes with salvers and chargers of all sizes (and there were many, as may be seen from the list of the moulds of the London and the York pewterers) were made by the men known as Sadware-men. The term is of doubtful origin and meaning, but it is still in use among pewterers where they exist.

Sadware was cast in moulds and finished by the hammer on an anvil or swage. These moulds left the metal in a somewhat rough condition and the hand-finishing was essential. In quality the sadware was good, and to finish it the proper method was by striping and burnishing. Sadware-men do not seem to have received very high wages, nor to have been held in very high estimation, and, like the humble spoon-makers, tried to do their work as easily as possible, *e.g.*, by turning it on a lathe. This was forbidden in 1681 in very definite terms (Welch, ii. 155).

Sadware from its quality has survived ordinary wear and tear very well, almost down to our time.

Pewter lingered on longest in the taverns and inns, and in the London chop-houses till the latter were assailed by the introduction of coffee-palaces and tea-rooms.

Pewter platters were in use thirty years ago at the Bay Tree Tavern in St. Swithin's Lane. These were veritable platters,

absolutely flat, with a moulding round the edge for strengthening the platter. They were about nine or perhaps ten inches in diameter, and had been well used in their time, as the

GERMAN KITCHEN
Nuremberg Museum

knife-marks on the upper surface clearly showed. With the rebuilding of the tavern and its conversion into a restaurant these platters would seem to have disappeared.

About the same date some of the many chop-houses in Eastcheap had displays of pewter plate, but they were not then

in common use. On the other hand, twenty dozen plates were ordered quite recently for one of the few surviving chop-houses in the City, not far from the Stock Exchange.

Salvers with feet are not unknown. A clumsy specimen with three long feet is preserved in the church of Erchfont-with-Stert (Wilts). Salvers of this kind have survived in the form of hot-water well-dishes, which are still made.

Plates are cast now, if they are required of small size. The booge is always finished by being hammered from the inside in concentric circles. Dishes are made of rolled plate, wrought entirely by hand.

In these days, when portability and lightness are regarded as so essential, it requires an effort to think of pewter plates having ever been chosen for an officer's camp equipment. However, they were so used, and some specimens are now in the possession of Lady Hervey which were used through the Peninsular campaigns by Lord Marcus Hill.

Small bowls or porringers[1] are very common objects in museums and collections. As a rule they are simple in section, strongly made, with ears or handles of shaped and perforated work, and usually a large cinquefoil or Tudor rose ill-stamped on the bottom.

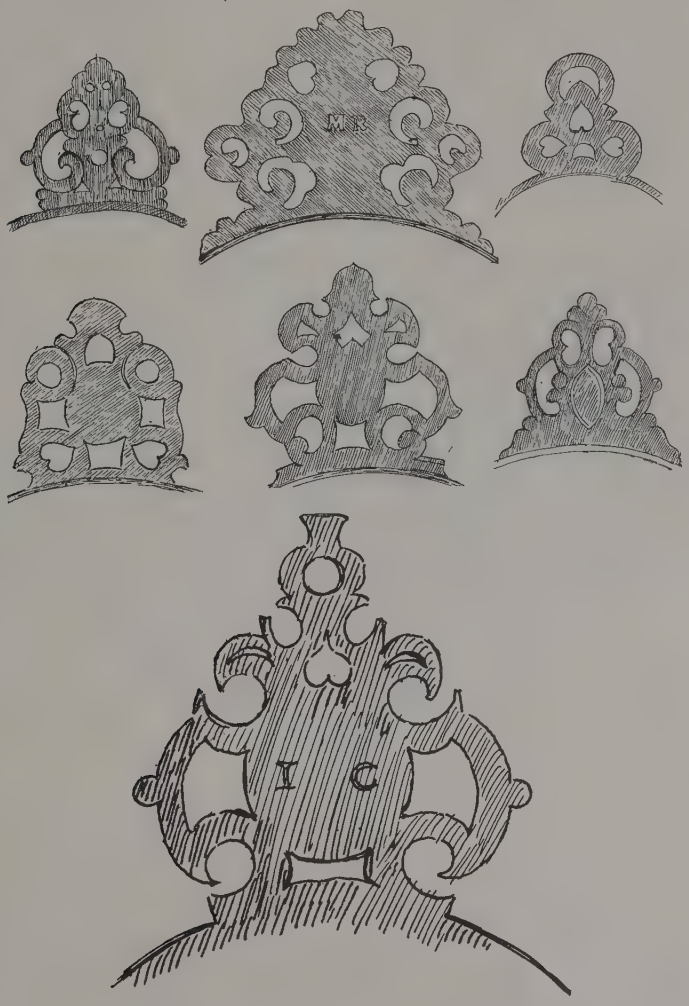
They are usually said to be of Dutch make, but were in common use in England in various sizes. In the Museum at South Kensington there is a pair of large size, quite plainly finished, but one has graduations engraved in the inside showing that it was a barber-surgeon's bleeding-dish.

These porringers date back from very early times. From the Old French name of *escuelles* our word scullery is derived.

Harrison, in his "Description of England," says: "Of porringers, pots, and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making of all these things there is such exquisite diligence used, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reason of sharpe laws provided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade."

[1] An old name for them was counterfettes, and they are described as counterfettes or podingers in an inventory of 1537, quoted on p. 68.

The eared cups or porringers have often lost their ears or handles owing to defective construction. A projecting handle of such thin metal was bound to get bent, and by being bent



Various Types of Porringer Handles

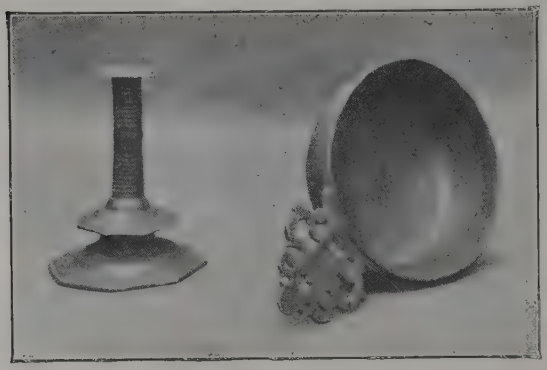
back into position was bound to crack. They survived best when cast thick, or in some cases when strengthened with a circular ring, soldered on to the body of the cup and on to the handle.

Blood porringers, or bleeding porringers are still made in

pewter, and the ear or handle is more or less traditional in pattern, being from one of Townend and Compton's old moulds. It has, however, been found necessary to strengthen the ear by thickening it, and to give a little more solid metal at the point of juncture with the bowl.

Some of the Scotch "quaighs" are similar to these bowls, but in many cases the ears or handles are shaped, not pierced with any pattern.

In the coat of arms on p. 148 it will be seen that one of the ears is not pierced at all, while the other is merely a ring.



JACOBEAN CANDLESTICK AND CUPPING DISH
Colonel Croft Lyons
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman"*)

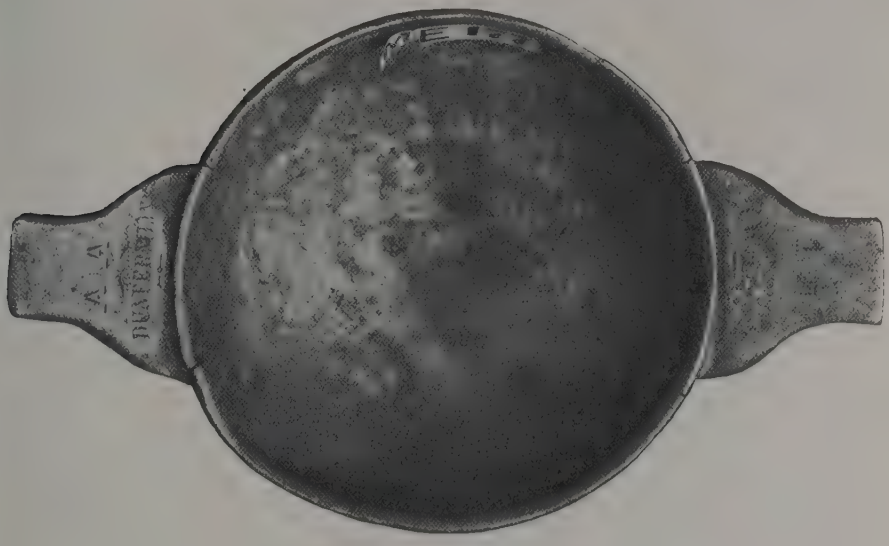
Some eighteenth-century vegetable dishes with similar handles seem to be the latest development of these very convenient vessels.

It is to be noted that the number of spoons which have come down to the present time in good condition is comparatively small. This is partly due to the fact that the early spoons had been made, or at any rate finished, by hammering. The metal was not improved by the necessary pressure put upon it during use; hence the number of breakages was enormous. A spoon without a handle, or the handle alone, was not of much use, and either part was easily lost. Long-handled spoons were the more readily bent out of shape, and the more easily broken. Of the types that have come down to our time the most usual is the almost circular bowl, very shallow, with a handle round or slightly elliptical in section, and finished with a flat end or a small knob.[1] Sets of a dozen seem to have been usual, and

[1] Many varieties are found, with roughly square, and octagonal or hexagonal sections. The diamond-shaped section is also found. Sometimes the knobs were of pewter, sometimes of latten or brass.

in the museums at Haarlem and elsewhere the japanned racks with supports for three rows of four spoons in each are to be seen.

It was not a sign of cleverness if a workman had to be kept at spoon-making, though this branch of the trade was sometimes left open for a man whose eyesight had failed. Mr. Welch notes cases of men finishing their spoons improperly, *i.e.*, by grating them and burnishing instead of beating them. This was a saving of time, no doubt, but it left the



A "QUAIGH"
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur"*)

spoons softer than they should have been. In 1686 a maker, Burton by name, was found fault with for using an "engine," presumably a press of some kind, for making spoons. Fortunately for him his spoons were well finished, and he undertook not to sell them in the country under six shillings, and in town for four shillings, a gross, so that no injury might be done to the other spoon-makers.

Punch ladles have survived in fairly good condition—they are later in date than the ordinary spoon, and are fairly hard metal. Frequently, where oval in shape and deep in the cup,

they are stronger than the circular type. The handles are usually slender specimens of turned wood.

Perforated spoons, or sugar-sifters, are rarely quite perfect. The ornamentation is frequently produced by punching the open work of the pattern out with a punch, and the bowl suffers in consequence.

ELIZABETHAN SPOON

A spoon of French make is to be seen at South Kensington with clear traces of gilding.

The spoon on p. 83 belongs to M. Jules Brateau of Paris. It is figured in Bapst's "Etudes sur l'étain dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge." M. Brateau thinks it is Gallo-Roman work, but it seems to be much later than that.

Pewter toys date back to Roman times, and have been dug up at various places in England and on the Continent. They may have been the actual toys which gladdened the hearts of their actual possessors during life, but from the way they are made they seem, like the chalices buried with deceased ecclesiastics, to have been intentionally counterfeit representations of the real toys used by the youthful deceased during life.

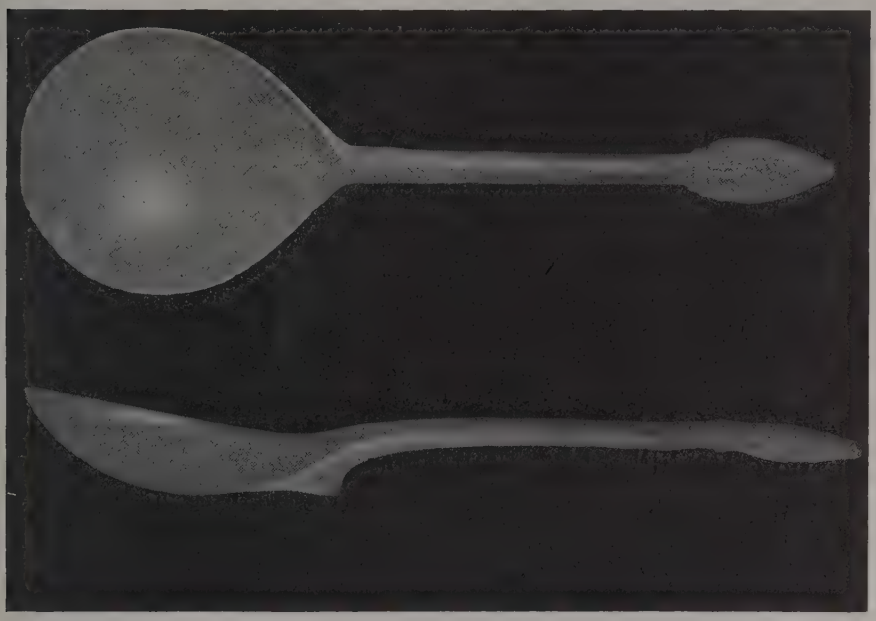
Though hardly toys, it may be as well to mention here the buttons, brooches and spinning-wheels, unmistakably Roman, that have also been found.

Tin soldiers would seem to have been used for childrens' playthings quite as early as Queen Elizabeth's time, for one Anthony Taylor was heavily fined for making "manekins" "10 grains worse than fine."

In the seventeenth century tin and pewter toys were quite common in Germany and the Netherlands, and specimens are to be seen in the Nuremberg Museum and in the Nuremberg

dolls' house at South Kensington. This dolls' house is well worth careful study. In France the *bimbelotier*, or toymaker, was a recognized worker in tin or pewter, and his trade was large.

A pewterer in 1668, Francis Lea, was fined ten shillings for "his Toy Pestell and Morter, and other toyes at 5 grains," *i.e.*, not quite up to the high standard of quality required by the Pewterers' Company. As a rule the toys seem to have been



Two Views of a Spoon belonging to M. Jules Brateau

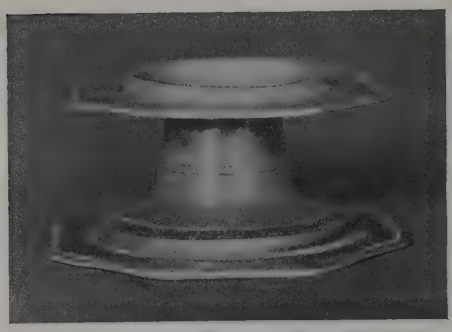
diminutive copies of the full-sized articles in everyday use in the household. Dolls'-house furniture constituted a distinct branch in the trade.

In our own time a common toy for boys was, and perhaps still is, a pewter squirt; another, perhaps not quite so generally known, was a circular disc with a serrated edge strung on a string that passed through two points in a diameter and had its ends tied. By means of the two loops it was rotated quickly backwards and forwards, to the accompaniment of a siren-like

noise which varied according to the speed of the rotation, and the size and method of setting of the teeth.

Bird-cages, fenders for dolls' houses, tiny mirror-frames, *étagères*, plate-baskets were objects to please the smaller hearts of the gentler sex, but their attractions paled before those of a tea-set complete on its tray.

Candlesticks, candelabra, both based on earlier patterns and pleasing in themselves, were also commonly made. But most, if not all, the dolls' pewter lacks the grace of the old pewter toys for this reason, that the old toys were diminutive copies of the articles in everyday use. Modern toys are for the most part "creations" of the artist.



A Master Saltcellar
C. F. C. Buckmaster

Tea-cups and saucers, or tea-things, as they are more often called, have long since ceased to be made in pewter, but the traditional shape on a much smaller scale has lingered on in the tiny sets still sold for dolls'-house use or ornament. These diminutive sets are cleverly made, and are rarely worked upon after leaving the mould, for the low price precludes any such outlay of labour.

In style they are far superior to nearly all the silver and other metal teapots produced commercially at the present time.

CHAPTER VI

CHURCH USE OF PEWTER

FOR a very long time the chief users of pewter were the ecclesiastics, both publicly in their churches, and privately in the various religious foundations.

Early chalices are known to have been made of horn,[1] marble, glass, copper and lead. Wood dropped out of use as being porous; marble, earthenware and glass were found to be rather fragile; bronze and copper, unless tinned or gilded, and lead vessels were found to have an injurious effect upon the wine that was poured into them.

Wood chalices were forbidden in France by the Synod held at Rouen in 1074, and in England by the Council of Winchester, held two years later.

The three permissible metals, then, were gold, silver and pewter, but the last was not supposed to be used unless for economic reasons, though in later times pewter vessels seem to have been used as a general rule, and the more elaborate plate kept for festival use.

For the celebrant the usual type was the chalice with or without handles; for the use of the congregation, up to the end of the thirteenth century, large chalices with handles were used. From these the wine was sometimes sucked by means of a tube permanently fixed on the side of the cup, or taken in the usual way.

The "Decretum Gratiani" (1139-42) is generally agreed to contain the law as to the metals of which it is permissible to make chalices and patens.

[1] Horn was forbidden by Adrian II. in 867, but it was in use in France in the twelfth century.

At the Council of Westminster held under the presidency of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1175, it was ordered that "the Eucharist shall not be consecrated in any other than a chalice of gold or silver, and from this time forward we forbid any bishop to consecrate a pewter chalice."

Necessity, however, knows no law, and in spite of the Canon Law the English ecclesiastics had to put up with pewter communion plate after the bulk of the church plate had been collected and disposed of to make up the 100,000 marks required to ransom Richard Cœur de Lion in 1194.

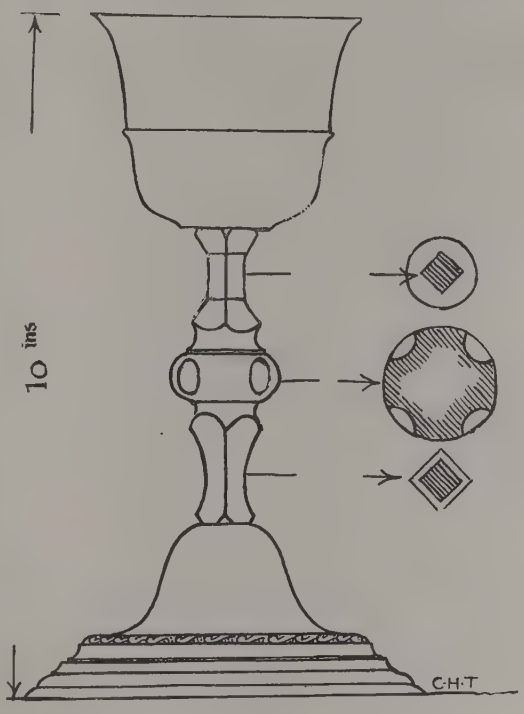
As to this, Bapst quotes the "Chronique de Reims": "Mais sa terre en fut moult grevée et les eglises del regne, car il lor convint mettre jusques es calices, et cantèrent lone tans en calisces d'estain."

In France pewter church plate was expressly permitted to be used by poor parishes by the Council of Nîmes in 1252, and by the Council of Albi held two years later. As it was used in some dioceses in cases not necessarily on account of poverty, it must be assumed that the rule had its occasional local exceptions.

Sepulchral chalices, said to be made of pewter, though in many cases more probably of lead, have been dug up in many places during the progress of structural alterations, and of so-called restorations. These articles for sepulchral use are not well finished, but are left rather rough. Abbots and bishops were as a rule buried with a crosier, sometimes of gold; priests with a chalice. St. Birin, Bishop of Dorchester, who died in the seventh century, was buried with a crosier and a chalice of pewter, as was proved when the tomb was opened in 1224. Chalices have been found in graves at Chichester, Cheam in Surrey, in Gloucester Cathedral and in other places, quite frequently enough to show that the custom was common. They have been found too, at Troyes in tombs dating between 1188 and 1395, at Jumièges, at Geneva, date 1423, with paten and crosier. It is rare that these chalices are found much later than the middle of the fifteenth century.

When the church at Nassington was under restoration in

1885 a grave was opened in the north aisle, near the third pillar. In this were found a pewter paten and chalice, both much damaged, and three palmers' shells or scallops, each of them pierced with two holes for affixing to the wearer's dress. The vessels were early in date, probably the middle of the thirteenth century. The paten was 4 inches in diameter, and had a single circular depression, the edge being rather broad. The chalice was 4 inches in diameter at the lip, and 4½ inches high, with a shallow bell-shaped bowl, a slender cylindrical stem with a knop and a circular foot.



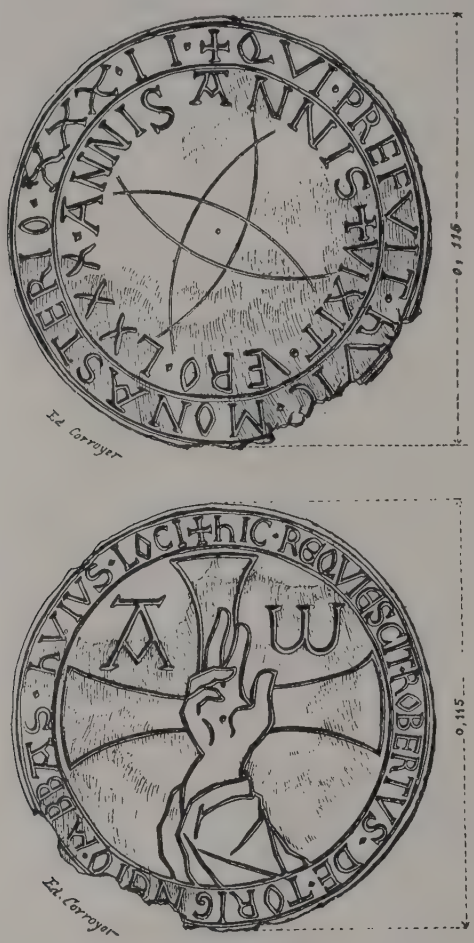
PEWTER CHALICE

At Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy, when the tombs of Robert de Torigny and Martin Furmendeius were discovered and opened in 1885 by M. E. Corroyer, crosiers were found, and in each grave a round disc of pewter with inscriptions, showing the rank and names of the former occupiers of the graves. Robert de Torigny was abbot from 1154 to 1186, and Martin, his immediate successor, died in 1191.

These plaques are preserved in the charter-room at Mont Saint-Michel. They may have been pectoral plaques, similar to the roughly made pectoral crosses, usually of the shape known as Maltese, which have been found in graves of the same date, *i.e.*, the twelfth century. These seem to have been inscribed with a prayer of absolution (scratched on the metal

with a stylus) and placed under the crossed hands of the deceased before burial.

The heart case of Richard Cœur de Lion was found at Rouen in 1838, and that of Charles V. was found in 1862, and one has been found at Holbrook in Suffolk. All these seem to have been made of pewter.



Pewter Sepulchral Discs at Mont Saint-Michel

Large pewter vessels, called in Latin "amphorae," for conveying the sacramental wine in bulk from cellar to sacristy, and for water for the ceremonial washing of the celebrant, as well as of the sacred vessels after use, were common from the thirteenth century, at any rate on the Continent.

Where pewter was not in use tinned copper vessels were probably used.

In the fourteenth century the use of burettes, or small pewter bottles for the sacramental wine and the water, is first mentioned. These are called *cruets* later on in English; and in France by many synonyms, such as pochon, pitalpha, vinateria, canette, chaînette, choppines, choppineaux, chaupineaux—the last-named suggesting our old word chapnet or chapnut, which was in use in English in 1612-13, as it was specified in the official list of the Pewterers' Company[1] as a vessel of which

[1] Welch, ii., p. 61.

six were to weigh 1½ lb., and in a smaller size six were to weigh 1 lb.

Pewter candlesticks were used in churches about the same time that the burettes came in fashion, but were apparently of small or moderate size. The larger kind and the hanging candelabra seem to have been of iron tinned or of copper. An early mention of an English chandelier is in the inventory of Whalley Abbey in 1537.

Of organ pipes it is not necessary to make detailed mention of more than the fact that they were made sometimes of pewter, sometimes of lead. Lead seems to have been used in the earliest organs, and pewter to have been a later development and improvement.

Sacramental Cruet
H. Bryan

Portable bénitiers were often made of pewter. In shape they resembled small pails, a convenient form for carriage round the church. Mention is made of one in 1328 in the private chapel of Clemence of Hungary; in the inventory of Jean de Halomesnil, 1380, a canon of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris; in 1430 at Mons, in the chapel of the Hospital of St. Jaques; in 1438 in the inventory of Pierre Cardonnel, canon of Notre Dame at Paris.

It is difficult to say exactly at what time hanging or wall-bénitiers of pewter came into use. Those in the Cluny Museum are much later than the fourteenth century; in fact those that have come down to our own time are as a rule seventeenth-century work or a little later. From the size they were un-

doubtedly meant for private domestic use, and in some cases they were richly painted and gilt. There is a plain one in good preservation in the Museum at Ghent.

These bénitiers varied considerably, but they generally took one of two main forms, viz., the kind that was intended to stand upon a ledge, table or shelf, and the kind that was designed primarily to be hung upon a nail, but which as often as not had a container with a base, upon which it could safely be placed on a shelf if required. The shape of the container gave most scope for the designer's fancy. An inverted truncated cone was a very common shape.

BÉNITIER—FLEMISH WORK
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur"*)

The pentagon too was, from its solidity, a not uncommon shape. Many of the Flemish stoups have very elaborate crosses, with figures far inferior in execution to the rest of the work. Their containers are of a domestic rather than an ecclesiastical type, and in spite of the lids, or remains of lids, much resemble shaving-brush bowls. Some of the containers seem as though they were the halves of bowls of an ordinary type.

It is the exception to find one of these bénitiers in perfect condition. They have usually broken at the point where the cross is joined to the bowl, the reason being that the cross, when of any height, is disproportionate in weight, and has had a tendency to lean forward, and so in time has been broken.

Font ewers[1] and font basins have been made of pewter, but actual fonts of pewter are rare. Professor Church found one at Cirencester of pewter of thirteenth-century design. It seems to be an open question whether it was intentionally or accidentally made of pewter, as there are many lead fonts in existence in this country. A lead font, of course, will last perfectly well if properly designed and made thick enough to stand usage. Thin lead or pewter that could be bent backwards and forwards would last but a very short time.

BÉNITIER—FLEMISH WORK
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur"*)

Pewter fonts, however, are found in Bohemia, of the form of inverted bells on richly foliated tripods. A German one at Carden on the Mosel is hard, but it seems more like lead than pewter.

In 1643 many fonts were either utterly destroyed or summarily removed from our churches; substitutes were introduced in the form of pewter basins or bowls, and large ewers for the water before use. There is a pewter font basin at Wellington Church, Sussex.

A heavy type of font, which, however, is lead, is in the Cluny Museum. There is also a good specimen in the Louvre.

[1] A pewter baptismal ewer which has been at one time gilt was scheduled by Mr. R. C. Hope at Ashwell, Rutland.

St. Giles-in-the-Fields was provided with a pewter font in 1644, and it was cut square on one side.

Fonts, if of bronze or copper, were to be tinned inside or lined with pewter, so as to prevent the consecrated water from being contaminated with verdigris or other impurities.

Altar crucifixes were sometimes made of tin, and the example in the Museum at Nuremberg is a very fine specimen of the work. Recognizing the soft nature of the metal, its maker mounted it on wood to protect it from injury. The metal was richly ornamented by mercurial gilding.

FLAGON AT EVENLEY

Other church vessels were the dishes or trays upon which the cruets or burettes were kept; ampullae of various forms for the storing of incense; ewers and basins; small boxes for the consecrated oil required for use in extreme unction.

Monstrances and pyxes were undoubtedly made in pewter in the sixteenth century. There is in the museum at Stonyhurst College a chalice, in the foot of which there is a pyx.

At the dissolution of the monasteries in 1537 very little pewter or "tynne" seems to have been confiscated, and what little there was seems to have been domestic rather than ecclesiastical in character.

At Whalley Abbey there were in the abbot's kitchen "iiij garnisste of pewter vessell, ij dosen of vessell," and in the convent kitchen "xxxi dishes, xxij doblers, and xxviij sawsers." These are not said to be pewter in so many words, but it is more than probable that they were. The same was the case at Stanlow.

Pierre de l'Etoile (quoted by Havard) tells how the Duc

d'Aumale and the Leaguers took possession of a church at Tours, and having found two chalices, one of pewter and the other of silver, left the pewter, but took the silver one, on the ground that it was heretical and royal, whereas the pewter belonged to the League.

After the Reformation, when Communion in both kinds

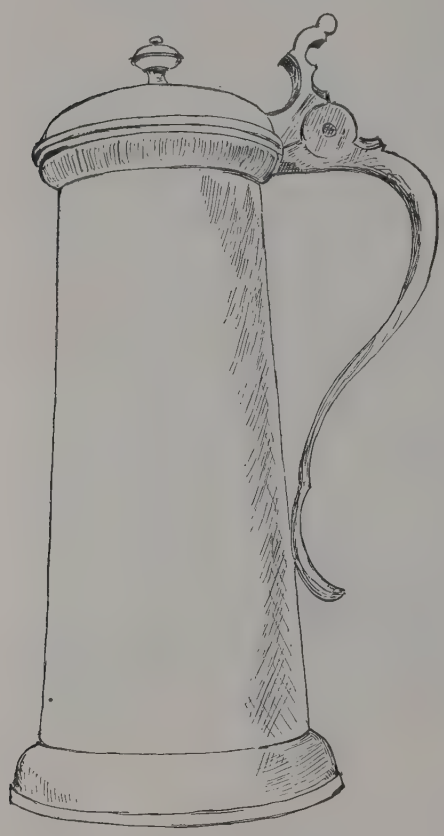
PEWTER COMMUNION PLATE
Raunds, Northamptonshire

became the rule, a change in the size of the cups was necessary, as well as in the size of the flagons.

The 20th Canon of 1603-4 enacts as follows: "Wine we require to be brought to the Communion table in a clean and sweet standing pot or stoup of pewter—if not of purer metal." Previous to this date and this enactment, flagons were extremely scarce in churches, and it is probable that none were in use for the Communion before the last ten years or so of the sixteenth century.

The earliest tall straight-bodied flagons, made in *silver*, were made in 1602. Some of these are still extant. There are two at New College, Oxford (1602). Brasenose has a pair dated six years later, and Salisbury Cathedral has a pair made in 1610.

These silver flagons set the fashion, and the shape was copied in pewter. At Strood, near Rochester, an inventory notes "the purchase from Robert Ewer in 1607 (for 9/6) Two pewter pots to serve the wine at the Communion."



LARGE FLAGON AT EVENLEY

Invaluable work has been done by the compilers of the various county histories of church plate, and to them inquirers as to existing church plate in pewter must be referred.

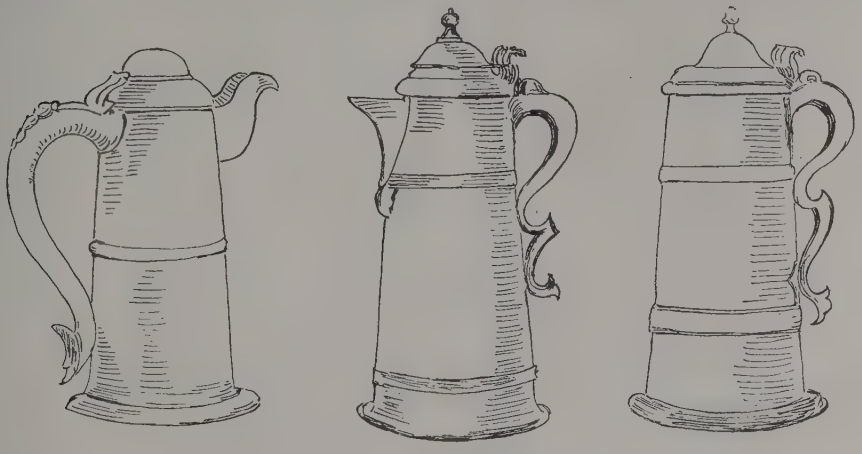
Northamptonshire is especially rich in the variety of its pewter church plate, both flagons and dishes. The earliest dated example of a flagon is at Werrington: it is tankard-shaped, and is inscribed: "Ex dono Edmundi Pennye et Franciscae uxoris ejus ad usum Capellae de Werrington 1609." It is a tall flagon, 14 inches high, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the base, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the top, but it is without makers' marks of any kind. Many flagons were but 11 or $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. That at Earl's Barton is especially noted in an inventory of 1647 as "a great flaggon pewter," and is 13 inches high.

Northamptonshire contains many specimens of pewter basins or bowls, probably used as *lavabos* for the celebrants

to wash their hands at Holy Communion just before the consecration, a post-Reformation custom which was frequently maintained in the seventeenth century.

A curious type of flagon is found at Kirkby Ireleth. In shape it is like a barrel with four raised bands.

In Dorsetshire the pewter church plate has in nearly all cases disappeared, and in the few places where it has survived it has almost invariably ceased to be used. From Nightingale's "Church Plate of Dorset" the earliest dated specimens are two flagons at Puddlelow, inscribed: "Ex dono Henrici Arnoldi,



THREE TYPES OF CHURCH FLAGONS

Ilsingtoniensis. 1641." At Iwerne Minster there is a dish dated 1691; at Allington a flagon of 1694; and at Winterborne St. Martin a flagon of 1698.

Of eighteenth-century pewter there are specimen plates at Bradford Peverel, 1707 and 1713, at Wyke Regis, 1717; and of flagons a specimen inscribed "Shaston S^{t} Peters 1770."

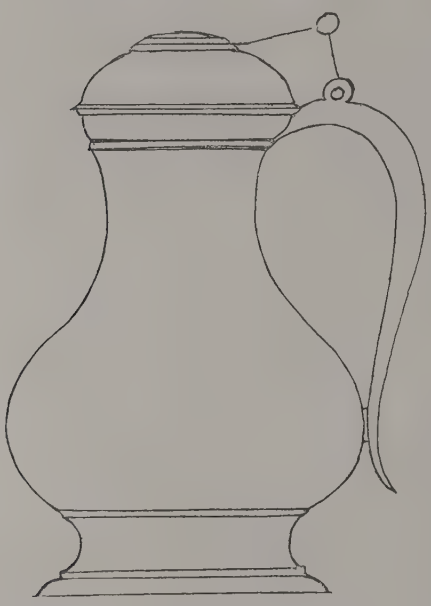
Wyke Regis also has a pair of plates dated 1820.

In the same book, under Cerne Abbas, mention is made in 1630 of "item p^{d} for a new pewter pott for wine for the Com' [Communion] x^{s}." This is relatively a high price.

At Sturminster Marshall mention is made in the churchwardens' accounts: "1780. p^{d} for A Bason to care [carry] to the vant [font] £0. 1*s.* 2*d.*"

Much of the church pewter has been improved away from the churches, sometimes being converted to other uses, as the entry for Gatesbury shows: "In 1854 the old chalice and paten, with a very large flagon and an alms dish, all of pewter, were melted up and cast into a large ewer for Baptism." The same thing was done at Lalton in the same county.

In many cases it is to be feared that the parish clerks, or other so-called responsible persons, have parted with them for a consideration.



FLAGON AT LUBENHAM CHURCH

A complete set of late seventeenth-century church plate in pewter, originally at Midhurst in Sussex, is now in the Museum at South Kensington.

No one looking at the seventeenth-century pewter which has fortunately survived in some of our churches will fail to admire the stately grandeur of the average flagons, and the simplicity of the plates and dishes.

In some few cases the lids have, through wear and tear, cracked at the juncture of the lid and the hinge, and have been repaired by some over-zealous workman, who thought it his duty to add a meaningless and useless knob to the centre of the lid.

The flagons are of various types, and they might be classified either from the shape of the body of the flagons or from that of the handles.

There is the type represented by the flagon at Lockington (Leicestershire), dated 1612. It is an upright flagon, tapering upwards with a graceful curve from the foot, and capped with a simple moulded lid.

Another type is represented by the Lubenham flagon, also

in Leicestershire, and dated 1635. In shape it is somewhat like the copper coffee-pots that were once so common.

Communion plate made of pewter is still in use in some places, either by itself, or as an adjunct to plate of either silver or silver-gilt. Express mention of such use is to be found in most of the histories of county ecclesiastical plate; but the more usual remark is to the effect that the pewter vessels are not now in use. Sometimes the note added is that, though dis-

SCOTCH COMMUNION PLATE, WITH LAVER IN THE CENTRE
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur"*)

used, it is carefully preserved. This is as it should be, for the early seventeenth-century flagons and cups had a dignity of form that is quite lacking in those of later date.

The use of such plate was more common in poorly cultivated and sparsely populated districts, *e.g.*, Friesland on the Continent, and the extreme northern parts of Britain. Much existed in the diocese of Carlisle and much more in Scotland. It is perhaps in Scotland that pewter lingers on still more than elsewhere in the service of the Church.

In one Scotch church (North Leith), besides the silver church plate, six pewter flagons are still used at the Communion Service. Of these four are small, and are inscribed: "North Kirk of Leith 1788." These were made by Gardner, Edinburgh, and bear his mark. Two others, rather larger, were made by R. W. (Robert Whyte), and are stamped with a thistle. A pewter paten was in use up to 1881. It was of Edinburgh make, dated 1762, maker W. H. The four small marks on it are a thistle, a rose, W. H. and a skull.

PEWTER PLATE FROM INVERASK
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur"*)

Mr. Ferguson, in his book on the Church plate of the Carlisle diocese, quotes the Bishop of Carlisle as having said, "There is much of historic interest attaching to these pewter vessels, and they deserve a place in the treasury of the church to which they belong."

From this standpoint alone they are worthy of preservation, but more so from the artistic point of view. Most of them are superior in beauty of form to the productions of later times by which they have unfortunately been superseded.

It is sad to read in the inventories of church plate that the simple old pewter alms-dishes have given place to so-called art-brass trays mechanically engraved, with no feeling in them, and frequently overloaded with sham jewels made of plain or coloured glass.

In Scotland Communion tokens, made under the superin-

tendence of church members in a stamp or model designed for that special purpose, were adopted, after the mould of the lead tokens used as early as 1560 by the French Calvinists.

CHALICE AND FLAGON
A. F. de Navarro

Sometimes they were of lead, sometimes of brass, or tin, or pewter. In shape they varied. Some were square, not more than an inch in width, sometimes round or hexagonal with a rim. They were plain, being marked generally with the initial letter or letters of the parish.

In the seventeenth century they were made larger, the date and a monogram being added, and the custom grew up of recasting them in new patterns whenever there was a new minister. By the eighteenth century the minister's initials were regarded as more important than those of the parish.

The tokens were officially issued a day or two before the Communion Service was to take place, and were officially collected before the service. Whenever a new set was required the old ones were collected and sent to the pewterer, who, from the accounts, seems to have charged very little for the recasting and very little for the new metal. It is a curious fact that tickets of paper, or cards, were first used, and that modern feeling has now reverted to this description of token.

Vessels for church use, such as chalices and patens, were made of pewter at an early date, but the use was restricted more or less to the vessels used by the congregation for daily requirements, while the vessels in plate were kept for state occasions and festivals. More than this, the use of pewter was permitted in particular instances where poverty prevented the purchase of vessels in the precious metals.

Communion plate is still made in Britannia metal, and a specimen made by Messrs. Dixon and Sons, dated 1751, is preserved in the Museum at York.

It is a pity that the seventeenth-century type of flagon has been superseded by that of the nineteenth, for the modern flagon is painfully like a coffee-pot, both in the elaborate handle and in the knob on the lid, the purchase, or thumb-piece, at the side near the hinge having apparently been discontinued.

The spout too and the foot have been broadened, over-developed with heavy mouldings, and in this way the balance of the whole thing has been marred.

In the chalices the lower half is as a rule plain, but the bowl portion is too heavy, and not graceful in its curves.

The patens resemble the older plain plates, but are mounted on feet which are rather too high.

CHAPTER VII

THE CLEANING AND REPAIRING OF PEWTER

WHERE pewter is not kept bright the surface slowly oxidizes, and assumes a very pleasing subdued tone, not the least like the hard black tarnish which discolours silver. This colour is peculiarly its own.

On some specimens of old pewter a kind of efflorescence will be found resembling rust. It is probably due to some change or decomposition in the antimony used in the pewter, as tin itself is not liable to changes of this nature. It cannot be removed by cleaning.

To keep pewter clean in old times it was found necessary to oil it, and in 1661 the Pewterers' Company paid 19*s.* 6*d.* for having it oiled. This was for a year's oiling. (Welch, ii. 130.)

At the present day, if pewter is to be left exposed for any length of time without being occasionally rubbed, it is a good plan to rub it over with a rag or cloth saturated with vaseline. There is no necessity to leave a thick deposit of vaseline upon the pewter, as a very thin coating is all that is required. Unlike anything in the nature of a lacquer, it only requires rubbing to remove it.

To remove the obstinate black oxide that has formed on pewter that has been lying forgotten for any length of time there are two methods, the one drastic and the other slow. Care is required in the former, and it is best to proceed by having a brush—an old shaving-brush or a pastry-brush serves the purpose well—with which to apply hydrochloric acid to the parts affected. The acid may be applied with a rag held in the fingers, but as it renders the finger-nails brittle this

course should be avoided. If a rag is preferred it should be held in a piece of bamboo split at one end; with a rag so held more pressure can be applied than with a brush. After applying the acid its action must be watched, and as the scale softens, the part so cleaned should be wiped with a wet sponge.

The slower process consists in using paraffin oil, applied locally or as a bath in obstinate cases.

It is absolutely useless to attempt to remove the oxide by scraping, as a series of ugly scratches will be the result.

Scratches may be removed, if it be considered necessary, by a preliminary rubbing with the finest (0 or 00) emery cloth, the rubbing being applied with a movement parallel to the direction of the scratch, or with a circular movement if the scratches are shallow and general. The emery paper will cause a series of very fine scratches, so fine that they can be easily removed with a burnisher. These may be bought of various types, according to the special use for which they are required. Very fine scratches may often be removed with the smooth side of the emery cloth.

It is a mistake to try to remove the marks caused on plates and dishes by the ordinary daily use of a knife.

Polishing can best be done on a jeweller's polishing lathe, a by no means expensive tool, and one which would also be found of immense use in polishing silver plate.

Cleaning can be easily done with rotten-stone and oil—the final rubbing being with dry rotten-stone on a soft cloth or leather. Whitening too, or, better still, precipitated chalk, can be used, mixed with water, or applied with a piece of lemon-peel.

Rotten-stone made into a paste with yellow soap (or soft soap) mixed with turpentine is a good cleaning medium, dry rotten-stone being used afterwards. It may be noted here that in using such abrasive substances it is as well to sift them through two thicknesses of muslin, so as to remove any chance particles of grit that may be in the powder.

The ordinary polishing pastes on the market may also be used, but the secret of success with them, as with any other

cleaning medium, is to see that the polish is used in moderation, and that it is all rubbed off after it has done its work. Nothing looks worse than a deposit of polish in the corners or interstices of metal-work. If the polish can get into such places, it can and must be removed.

An old-fashioned cleaning nostrum for household pewter was rubbing with Calais sand and elm-leaves. The latter were probably used merely to hold the sand during the cleaning process.

Putty powder, as the oxide of tin is called, is also an excellent cleaning medium. It may be used dry.

Oxalic acid by itself, dissolved in water, or with the addition of jewellers' rouge or sifted rotten-stone, is a good cleaning medium; but it is a poison, and therefore is not to be recommended.

CENTRE OF DISH AT BRINGTON

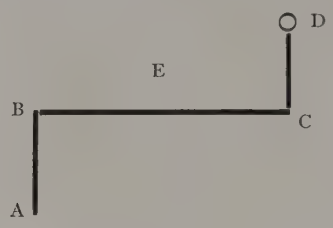
Cleaning or "scouring" pewter was a branch of the trade, and it was not supposed to be done in private houses or elsewhere than in the pewterers' workshops.

The regulations quoted by Bapst from Boissonnet for the cleaning of church plate, if of pewter, are very precise: "It must be washed every three months in hot soapsuds, and be rubbed with oats or other husk-bearing grain, or with broken egg-shells; then washed in clean water, dried and wiped with a clean cloth."

Indentations or bulges in the sides of pewter-ware can often be remedied by pressure of the fingers applied from the inside, or by means of a piece of cloth, or thick and soft leather, on an

iron spoon with a stout handle such as is used for kitchen purposes. In some cases a wooden spoon is quite enough. No force in the nature of a blow from a hammer should be used, unless in the hands of an expert. For indentations deep down, near the bottom of a tankard, a short length of a birch or mahogany curtain-pole will be found useful, as with the hard wood placed inside the vessel and pressure judiciously applied outside the damage can generally be remedied.

For obstinate and deeply sunk bulges a kitchen poker with a knob can be converted into a snarling-iron. To use this the poker must be bent into the shape of a Z



The part A B is to be fixed in a vice, or in a hole in a table in which it can be tightly and firmly held. If the vessel to be treated be then applied so that the bulged portion impinges on the knob D, and a gentle blow be given with a hammer on E, the knob D will transfer the blow to the pewter. By repeating the blows patiently and carefully the desired result will be obtained.

It is not advisable to send pewter to be repaired at any ordinary ironmonger's shop. Neither is it any good to take it to the so-called practical jeweller. The former pins his faith to tinman's solder and a large soldering-iron, the latter to a blowpipe and, as a rule, hard solder. A piece sent to the former might be sent back handsomely encrusted with solder, and if sent to the latter might come back with a large hole caused by the blowpipe flame employed.

CHAPTER VIII

DRINKING CUPS AND TANKARDS

DRINKING vessels fall into two main classes—those without and those with handles—and the variety of shape in either class is almost endless.

It was no doubt recognized at an early date that the branch of the trade which dealt with drinking vessels was important, and worth while fostering.

In 1423 a regulation was made by Robert Chichely, Mayor, "that retailers of ale should sell the same in their houses in pots of 'peutre' sealed and open, and that whoever carried ale to the buyer should hold the pot in one hand and a cup in the other; and that all who had pots unsealed should be fined."[1]

This extract is interesting from the use of the word "sealed," which would seem to point to the stamping of a mark, about eighty years before the Act of Parliament made such stamping necessary, and about 120 years before the first recorded use of official touches.

Drinking cups of the beaker form were probably derived originally from the earlier cups of horn, which were used contemporaneously with those of wood and pewter. The outward curves of the lip and of the foot were common-sense as well as decorative additions, as the curves gave an added element of strength where it was most required.

Another form of cup was the shorter cup with a handle, a specimen of which is to be seen in the Cluny Museum. Another type is that shown in the coat of arms on p. 148. The quaighs were also used for drinking vessels.

[1] Herbert, "History of the Livery Companies."

Pewter pots from a very early date seem to have formed part of the equipment of a cabaret in France, or a tavern in England. They must have been regarded as an improvement upon vessels made of copper, wood, or rough earthenware. That they were found convenient as weapons of offence or defence appears from a case quoted by Bapst, where one Jean Lebeuf in 1396 was charged with hitting his boon companion

TYPES OF TANKARDS
(*From a photograph lent by Messrs. Fenton*)

with a pewter wine measure. The practice has undoubtedly been continued since that time.

Our English taverns had their pewter pots and tankards from a very early date, and the manufacture was certainly profitable—in fact, so profitable that when, at the end of the seventeenth century, glass and earthenware began to be used to some extent the Pewterers' Company were anxious (at the request of the Potmakers) to procure an Act of Parliament to make it obligatory to sell beer, wine and spirits on draught in

pewter measures, sealed. It was suggested, not altogether from disinterested motives, that the earthenware and other drinking vessels were not good measure. This *ad captandum* argument was very ingenious, but it was not successful. It savoured too much of the monopoly system.

Harrison, in his "Description of England," wrote: "As for drinke, it is usuallie filled in pots, gobblets, jugs, bols of silver in noblemens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these, elsewhere, in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds, whereof manie are garnished with silver, or at the leastwise in pewter."

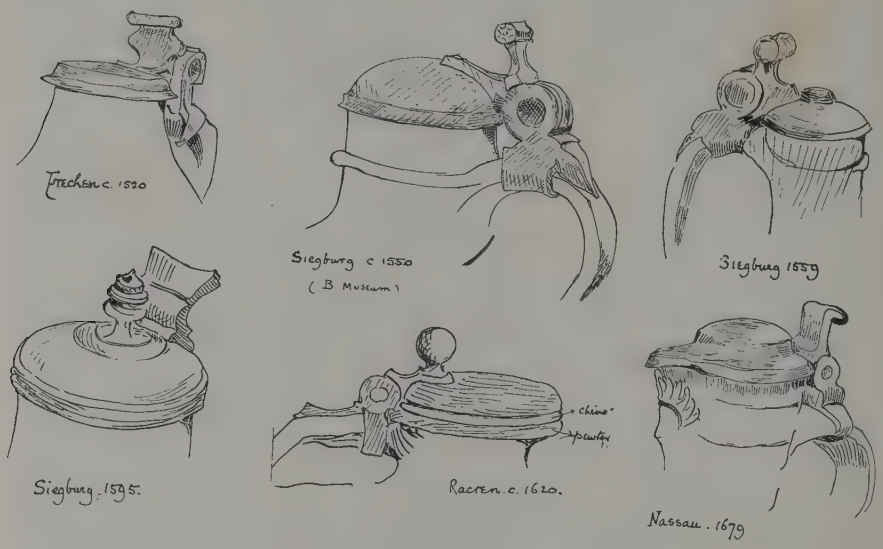
An English Tankard
A. F. de Navarro

The "fine Venice glasses of all formes" do not here concern us, nor do the "bols of silver," but the "pots, gobblets, jugs and bols" were made in Harrison's time of pewter. What Harrison quaintly terms "pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds, whereof manie are garnished with silver, or at the leastwise in pewter," formed in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries a large and important branch of the pewterers' trade.

There are specimens of the "garnish" of pewter that was applied to the pots to be seen in most museums here and on the Continent. Those shown on p. 108 are from the British Museum, but the pewter is of foreign make. From the design of the handles it would seem that they were intended to have

lids of pewter or other metal. It is curious to note that the handles in the earliest existing examples are put on in exactly the same way as they are to-day. The old pewterers knew all there was to know as to fixing them on securely.

The pot-lids formed a branch of the London pewterers' craft, and they worked under very special regulations. In 1552 "yt was agreed that all those that lyd stone pottes should set their own marck on the in syde of the lyd, and to bring in all such stone potts in to the hall wherby they may be vewed yf



STONE-POT LIDS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

they be workmanly wrought, and so be markyd [1] w^t^ the marck of the hall on the owt syde of the Lyd. Also every one that makyth each stone pottes shall make a new marck, such one as the M^r^ and Wardens shalbe pleased w^t^all whereby they maye be known from this daye forward. Theise potts to be brought in wekly upon the Satterdaye and if the Satterdaye be holly daye then to bring them in upon the ffrydaye. And loke who doth the contrary shall forfayte for every stone pott so daely proved iiij^d^ in mony over and besydes the forfayte of

[1] The price of the marking was a farthing a dozen.

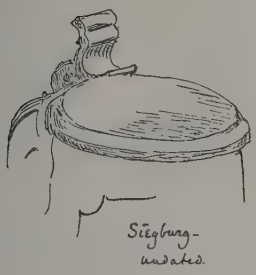
all such pottes as be not brought in according to this artycle" (Welch, i. 174).

In 1548 they were ordered to be stamped with a fleur-de-lys (Welch, i. 157).

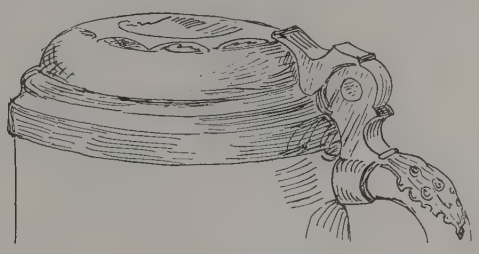
Four years later the Company appointed one Harry Tompson to have the "vewe and marking of all stone pottes and he should mark none but those that be substancyally wrought" (Welch, i. 190). He was removed from his office in 1559.

The cost of making the lids was fixed in 1581 at two shillings a dozen, unless the customer were a brother of the Company (Welch, i. 289).

Another version of this in the Jury Book says the mark



POT-LID



POT-LID WITH INSET COIN
R. Baird

was to be on the outside. This may be so, for in 1559 it was settled that if a lid were badly made the potte was to be broken as well as the lid, and "that from hensforth the makers of stone pott lyddes shall set theire marcke on the inside of the Lyddes" (Welch, i. 202).

There is as great variety in the shape of the body of tankards as in their names, the fashion of the purchase or thumb-piece, the shape of the lid and the curve of the handle.

The tankard, p. 110, is perhaps the nearest approach to the pyramidal form. A cylindrical shape is seen in the Norwegian tankard on p. 57. The sides are quite vertical.

Mr. Welch (ii. 61, 62), under the date 1612-13, about twenty-five years after Harrison's time, mentions in a list of pewter wares and their specified weights: "Great beakers wrought or

plaine middle and small beakers, as well as childrens beakers, also wrought or plaine, greate and smale beere bowles, with large wrought cuppes. There were also middle and smale French Cupps, with high wyne cupps, wrought and plaine and the cutt shorte, plaine and wrought." As to jugs and pots for holding the beer there were (p. 62) "spowt potts containing a potte, quart, pint and half pint of fluid. Ewres were known as Hawkesbills and Ravensbills, both greate and small, with very little difference in the weight between the sizes, with greate and smale French of the same weight. There were new fashion thurndells[1] and halfe thurnedells—new quarts, new great, smale and halfe potts, hooped thurndells, great hooped quarts, Winchester quarts and pints with or without lidds, long hooped Winchester pyntes and Jeayes danske potts." The list concludes (p. 64) "with greate middle and smale jugg potts not sized, and measures for aquavitae."

TANKARD IN VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON

A weak point in many tankards and flagons has been the

[1] These are sometimes called thirdendales or thriddendales. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope says it is a Wiltshire word meaning a pot to hold about three pints, hence the name.

hinge of the lid. Some of the hinges are quite simple, consisting of three leaves; others have five. Friction, dust and frequent use have soon caused the hinges to work loose, and have been assisted by occasional falls, the evidence of which is generally clearly to be seen.

To remedy this weakness of the hinge, bone was tried as a substitute, as in the church flagon at Milton Lilburne. Brass pins are sometimes found.

The illustration on p. 106 will show the various types.

Flagons with feet are common enough in German museums, and there are specimens in the museum at South Kensington.

A Ribbed Tankard
G. Frampton

In Germany, in the seventeenth century, tankards for beer were made of wood and ornamented with *appliqué* work of a simple kind, chiefly scrollwork. Sometimes these tankards were partly inlaid as well. The interior was made water-tight with pitch, and from this the tankards took the name of *Pechkrüge*. Several illustrations of this type of drinking vessel may be seen in the book of plates of objects in Baron Minutoli's Institute.

The modern German glass beer-tankard is often fitted with a pewter lid, but the weight of the lid is generally carried on an upright pewter pillar, which is clamped on the upper side of a C-shaped handle. The metal employed is rather bright-looking and garish, and is frequently over-elaborately worked,

and with the glass vessel the colour effect is not satisfactory. The metal has the appearance of type metal rather than of ordinary pewter, and the nature of the composition may be influenced by the supposed necessity to have the ornament very sharply cut and clear in every detail.

In most western European countries pewter was largely

THREE "TAPPIT HENS"
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur"*)

used for measures either for dry goods or for liquids, and for use in scales where small goods were to be sold by weight, such as salt. Oil, wine, beer, were the fluids most commonly measured in the pewter measures, and the metal, from its capacity of withstanding rough usage, was found to be especially convenient. The ware was in common use for these purposes in the whole of France.

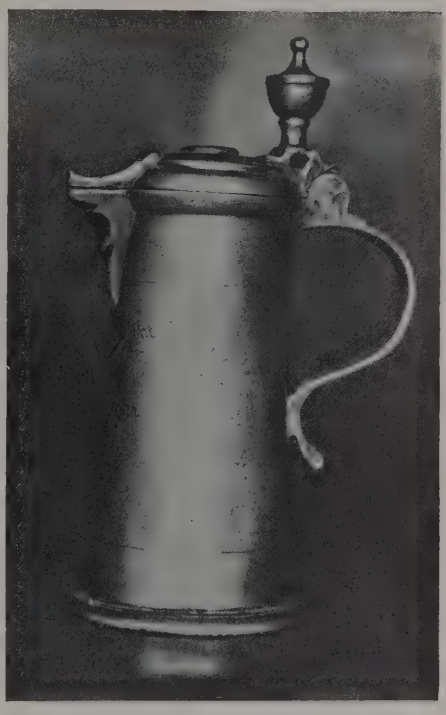
"Tappit Hens"[1] is the name given to Scotch jugs, usually found in sets of three, and used for beer. The form is quaint, but quite suitable for the metal from which the "hens" are made. In South Kensington Museum there is an early measure of English make which suggests the tappit hen. The German flagon on p. 149 also resembles the "hens" in shape.

The Scotch "quaighs" were also used as drinking vessels.

Cups and tankards are often scored at intervals with lines all the way down the inside circumference. It is difficult to see the object of this, and the effect is not decorative. Pegs in a peg-tankard are justifiable, and so are the lines in a graduated bleeding-dish.

Many tankards have an ornament in the inside at the bottom. The tankard here shown has a very fine rose, and that on p. 149 has S. D. in bold letters. In these cases the ornament is cast, and then soldered upon the metal.

A large Tudor rose is often found in the bottom of the porringers or eared dishes.



A German Tankard
H. Bryan

A medallion is often found soldered on to the bottom (inside) in German drinking vessels. A rose is a common device; so too a lily, or a scroll, or a cross with the Virgin Mary and St. John—the last-named in the case of conventual pewter plate.

[1] Tappit, *i.e.*, with a top. Possibly they took their name from a breed of domestic hens which had crested heads.

CHAPTER IX

PEWTER, OLD AND NEW

IN comparing the London pewterers' lists of five hundred years ago with those of the present day it will be apparent that many articles have changed their names, many novelties have been introduced, and many more have become obsolete. The Ordinances of 1348 mention "disshes, saucers, platers, chargeours, pottes, square cruettes, square crismatories, cistils," all of fine pewter.

Among pewter articles that are not commonly met with may be mentioned haggis-dishes, circular, with two fall-down hinged handles. Wall-lavabos are rarely found perfect, or if in separate pieces the parts are rarely of the same date.

On page 115 the central cup with its two handles has an inner vessel which lifts out, the outer vessel being intended for hot water, by means of which the posset or negus could be kept warm for a time.

The two double-handled cups on p. 133 were used in a Capucin monastery in Lucerne for giving to the poor, who came to beg for it, soup and other food.

In a catalogue of Townend and Compton[1] there are many curious entries of articles of which the moulds are still in existence, and which could be got, but of which the use is now decayed. There are, besides the ordinary articles, alembics, balneums, coffee-urns, Communion cups, cranes, cullenders, egg-cups, fish-plates, fowl-boilers, hash-dishes, kettles, sauce-boats, scale-plates, tobacco-pots.

Besides these there are many other articles now more

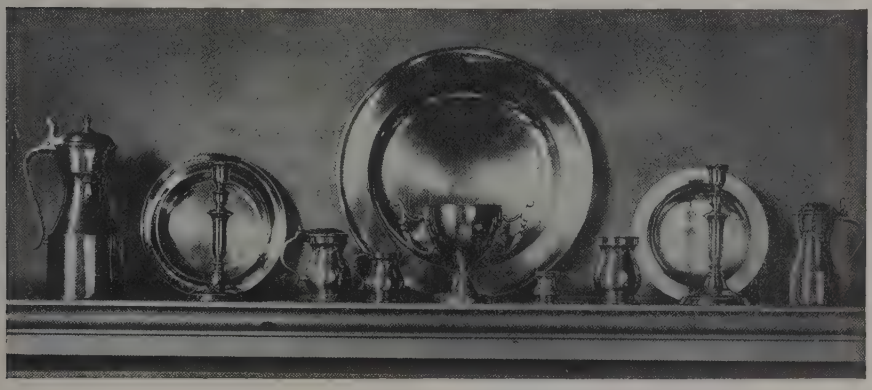
[1] Lent to the writer by the successors of that firm, Messrs. Brown and Englefield.

usually made in glass, earthenware, china, copper, Britannia metal and zinc.

The Cardinal's hat, from its name, would seem to have been a wide-brimmed dish with a very small hollow and a shallow booge. This, together with hawksbills, ravensbills, Ephraim pints, pye-coffins,[1] great, upright and small goddards,[2] Jeayes danske potts, and thurndells, has gone into oblivion.

A table fountain or cistern was found by Pepys to be a necessity after he had seen one at another's house, but they had been used abroad certainly two centuries before his time.

Wall-lavabos were frequently made in pewter, and for



A Shelf of Pewter

this the metal is well suited. Monsieur de Navarro has one in his collection, of German work, in two parts, viz., the reservoir with a brass tap, and a small drip-tank or sink.

Among other instances of articles in pewter which have now unfortunately ceased to be made are snuff-boxes,[3] candle-boxes, table fountains, lavabos or hanging washhand-stands. A candle-box was almost a necessity when lamps were not in use.

[1] "Which notes he kept in the coffin of a Pye, which had been sent him by his mother" (Heylin, "Laud," ii. 302). From a 1420 cookery book it was a case or crust for a pie. In "Bristol Wills," a "custerd coffyn" is mentioned.

[2] Fr. *godet.* The word goddard is still used in Anglesey.

[3] Mr. Charles F. C. Buckmaster has a very interesting collection of these, in every possible shape, many of them beautifully chased and engraved.

One is shown on p. 140.[1] It is late in date, 1812, but seems to be a survival of an earlier pattern. The construction is simple, the hinges being formed of pins of stout metal, which pass through holes in the ends of the box. A small bracket fixed in the inside prevents the lid from sagging downwards by its own weight.

With the actual discontinuance of "still-rooms" (surely one of the most delightful and interesting institutions of the good old times) stills of pewter for domestic distilling went out of use. Representations of the coiled-up pipe known as the "worm" form the makers' marks of several eighteenth-century firms of pewterers.

It is curious to notice how pewter-ware, originally intended for one purpose, has been converted, not always happily, to other uses. In Mr. Niven's collection there is a fine quart tankard with a good domed lid, and a perfect handle, which by some thoughtful person has been converted into a teapot by the insertion of a strainer in the spout, and by the punching of a hole in the lid. No doubt the tankard had been superseded, perhaps condemned, as a drinking vessel, and the conversion was effected by the next possessor.

Another instance of conversion has resulted in the production of an article which is now of very little use.[2] A handsome flat-bottomed bowl, mounted on three feet, has been turned into a washing-basin, and disfigured by the addition of a splash-back for nearly a half of the circumference. Small thin stays were added to tie the edge of the splash-back to the rim, but they have perished long ago. It must have been intended to stand in a corner on a low shelf, as otherwise the added back has no *raison d'être*. The back is dated 1802, and bears the initials of the then owner. Perhaps the conversion here was due to the loss of the lid of the bowl.

A third instance is perhaps hardly worth describing, but as the object is in the Museum at South Kensington it may be given a few words. It is a hollow helmet-shaped bowl, fitted

[1] From the collection of G. Frampton, Esq., R.A.

[2] It is in Mr. Hugh Bryan's collection.

with a screw outlet at the bottom, and is intended for a hot-water bowl after the model of the hot-water plate.

The ornament is very curious, and the breaks in it show how the bowl was pieced together by a clever workman from bits of sheet metal. Mr. H. P. Mitchell, of the Museum, thinks that the pewter sheets of which it is made had been used for printing some fabric, and this seems likely enough.

TOBACCO-BOX
E. P. Warren

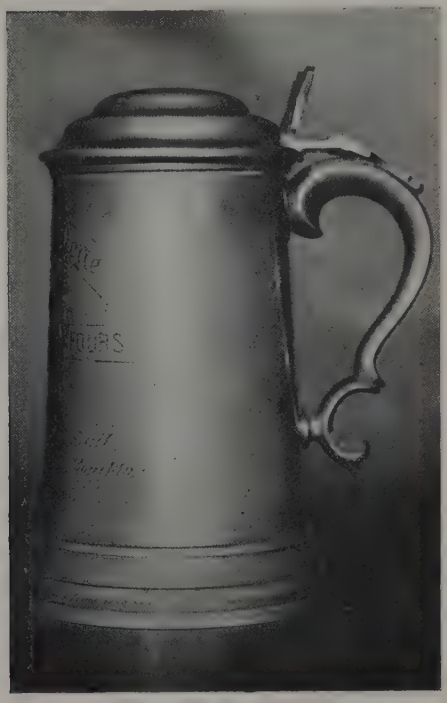
The fact of the metal being so soft, and in consequence so liable to injury, accounts for the disappearance from circulation of so much of the early work in pewter.

Modern work in pewter has suffered partly from bad design, partly from bad material, and partly from bad workmanship, and has in many cases literally gone to pieces; when, given good design, good material, and even passable workmanship, the objects might have survived.

One of the commonest faults in pewter-ware, predisposing to early decay and destruction, is the constructional weakness caused by undue thinning in parts subjected to strain. A bowl in the possession of the writer is apparently as good now as on the day on which it left its maker's hands, as it is the same thickness all over. The final form was given to it by hammering.

A vessel with a single handle, or with a pair of handles, must be carefully made, or the handle will by its weight pull the body of the vessel out of shape and eventually crack it. This may be noticed by examining, as occasion offers, the

ordinary pewter pots where they have survived in our inns. They crack in the upper rim close to the point where the handle is joined to the body, and when the crack spreads and the upper part of the handle becomes free of the pot, the handle with its weight acts as a lever to wrench the lower end out of its place. In many cases the weight of the handle is disproportionately great, as they are cast solid and joined afterwards to the pots for which they are intended.



A Modern "Pewter" made of Britannia Metal

In the case of a German tankard with a lid, which was brought to the writer for inspection and repair, it was found that the body of the tankard, which was nearly 11 inches high, was not thicker on the handle side than ordinary stout brown paper. Into this was fixed a handle weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb., $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick at the top, tapering down to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the bottom. Naturally the body had not been able to stand the strain, especially when filled with water, and in consequence it gave way, the lower part of the handle being gradually forced through the flimsy body. Then the upper part of the handle began to crack away from the fairly solid rim, and after being put back in its place a few times came out bodily.

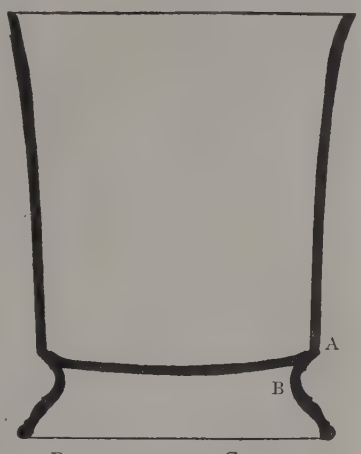
Again, sharp angles on the outer edge of a pewter vessel are fatal to the life of the article.

A graceful form of cup is shown on p. 119; it is that of a public-house half-pint tankard, from the Vulcan, Brockley Road; but the weakness in the side at A and in the bottom at

B has caused the disappearance from active life of many of its fellows, and its own need of repair. Blows upon the table with its base have forced the foot upwards into the curve of the bottom, and wear and tear have thinned the side down until it has cracked.

The alleged difficulties in repairing pewter absolutely neatly and satisfactorily, and the relative cheapness of the metal, have acted as contributory causes to the disappearance and destruction of many such drinking vessels.

Many of the old tankards with lids are doubly overweighted, viz., in the handles and in the knobs added to already heavy lids. From the fact that the handles were added subsequently to the fashioning of the body, and that in many cases the handle supports the lid, the weight is somewhat unduly heavy on one side.



PUBLIC-HOUSE GOBLET
Thackeray Turner

The teapots and milk-jugs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whether of pewter or Britannia metal, when mounted on feet, soon perished from the fact that the feet were forced by persistent pressure through the bottom of the pot. Teapots in soft metal are now rarely made with feet.

Plates, too, have their weak point, and it is at the inner edge of the flat rim, where the booge or hollow depression begins. Some of the larger salvers in our museums, especially those in which there is a large boss or other extra weight of metal in the centre, clearly show the same weakness of construction.

Some of the large German guild-cups seem to be particularly weak in construction. A heavy body, with handle and lid, is supported on three massive feet. When filled with liquor there was a great strain on the handle whenever it was necessary to lift it in that way; and when at rest on a table there was an

unequal strain on the feet, which would be aggravated by careless handling.

STANDING CUP AND EWER
Nuremberg Museum

These feet in some cases have been added as an afterthought, when it was considered advisable to diminish

the handle-strain by fitting a tap in the front near the bottom.

As an instance of the feet being properly fixed, one has but to look at the large tankard in the Museum at South Kensington (p. 155). The weight of the whole thing is enormous, some 35 lb., and yet the feet show no sign of displacement. In some places the thickness of the metal is half an inch, in others more, but the bottom was specially strengthened for the feet.

None but the best pewter would have any chance of surviving the ordinary wear and tear of our daily life.

Genuine English spoons of the seventeenth century are very rarely to be found in good condition, for in the case of spoons and forks, the weak point has been the shank or handle, even when properly hammered to give it a little extra strength before being burnished and finished. Some modern *Zinn-stahl* forks and spoons, made in Germany, as the name implies, have been strengthened in the shank by the insertion of a steel wire; but the innovation has not added much to the short span of their existence.

CHAPTER X

THE ORNAMENTATION OF PEWTER

THE nature of the metal is not such as greatly to encourage the *repoussé* worker or the engraver. Easy as it is to cut and to work, it wears out quickly, and the design becomes illegible. Any deep-cut lines help to weaken the work, and in view of this, linework proper has generally been kept very thin and delicate. Broken or wavy linework has frequently been done by holding a flat tool, such as a flat scorper, at an angle of 50° or so, and by forcing it forwards in the direction required by the design with a regular rocking motion. It is easier to do than to describe, as any one interested may see by experimenting on a piece of sheet lead with a carving chisel, say one-eighth of an inch wide. The quality of the "wriggled" or "joggled" line thus made will vary with the speed and the regularity of the rocking, and with the width of the tool selected. Borders have been produced by the combination of different lines similarly worked.

The illustration on p. 123, viz., that of a Dutch Communion chalice of about 1690, is entirely worked with a tool $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch in width; the partition-lines are worked in a similar way. The large dish, p. 127, has also been ornamented by the same method.

Sometimes a running pattern is carried all over the object, and at first sight seems to be composed of dots, but on closer inspection the traces of the connecting lines will be seen, but less plainly than the deeper cut dots. The graceful drinking-cup on p. 124 is a good example of this kind of ornament.

Frequently the border of a plain dish or plate, which for strength is made considerably thicker than the body of the

article, is decorated with a kind of bead ornament, produced presumably by milling or by a stamp. Occasionally the ornament of the rim consists of a faint moulding.

In many plates and dishes the simple lines of the circle or oval are broken, and the dish takes a cinquefoil shape, often with an elaborate edge.

Much of the linework on pewter is done with a graver, some of the metal being removed at each cut of the tool. Much, too, is done with a chasing-tool called a tracer. The difference in the lines thus produced will soon be perceived, as in some specimens the two methods are both used, if not side by side, at any rate on the same article. A peculiar effect can be got by the use of a wedge-shaped punch.

DUTCH CHALICE
A. Toovey

The graver removes a portion of the metal at each cut, driving it forward in front of the tool. Of course the shape of the piece removed depends upon the size of the graver, the way it is ground, and the intention of the workman who is using

the tool. In the case of the chasing-tool no metal is removed, as the tool, which is held vertically, is struck with a hammer and displaces the metal, into which it is forced, very much in the way in which a furrow is formed. The tool is moved along in the required direction, and, tapped regularly with the hammer or light mallet, produces a long furrow. If the furrow be examined with a lens the hammer-blows will be clearly seen.

BEAKER
E. P. Warren

Curved lines, if intricate, are done by means of a curved tracer; but the straight tracer, when not too large, is capable of doing most of the work, if the user of it knows its capabilities.

Many objects in pewter, in addition to the line ornament, are decorated with patterns impressed by means of punches. The plates—judging from the backs—have been held on an anvil while the blows were given to the punches, and the resulting inequalities on the backs removed by scraping or by filing. The effect of the combination of the two styles of ornamentation is not always good. Handwork and machine-work, by such close juxtaposition are too prominently pitted one against the other, and neither is so effective when combined.

The fine English tankard on p. 107 is a specimen of this combined work, but done with such perfect taste that the eye is not offended.

Wriggled ornament in the hands of a competent workman has been used all through the work applied to the beaker, on

p. 123, on which the chief incidents in the life of Christ are represented.

Three specimens of dishes moulded in relief, in the possession of the Rev. F. R. Ellis, of Much Wenlock, are illustrated here. In form they are late, but good, and they are in excellent preservation. All the plates bear the same marks, viz., a St. Michael and the dragon, and a rose with a crown above it. In all probability they were made at Ghent.

The oval dish bears the arms of a marquis (name unknown); and of the two plates, the one bears the arms of Philip V., King of Spain, second son of the Dauphin and Marie of Bavaria, who reigned from 1700 to 1741.

THREE PLATES IN RELIEF-WORK
Rev. F. R. Ellis

The other plate bears the arms of the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV., surrounded by the Ordre du Saint Esprit, the dolphins being borne on the waves of the sea.

All three pieces are in very high relief, obtained, according to their owner, by casting and filling up the hollows with solder. The true explanation may be that the plates are *repoussé*, and that they have been filled up to make good the cracks that have developed.

The oval dish[1] on p. 128, in the possession of M. A. F. de Navarro, is undoubtedly cast solid, and not filled up with added metal.

[1] In examples such as this dish the edge was moulded by hand after the plate or dish was finished. Nowadays the edge is cast in sections and soldered in its place.

Repoussé work proper does not seem altogether suitable for the decoration of pewter, yet a series of small *perles* worked from the back to form the edges of a border is remarkably effective. Such a border on the rim of a plate with a simple running pattern in rather deeply pricked work is very charming in effect. In the plate from the Tyrol (p. 129) the *repoussé* work is much later than the other ornamentation on the plate.

Relief-work, if it is to tell satisfactorily, should not be too much raised, and it is better cast more or less solidly. An example of this is seen in the oval dish bearing the arms of François I[er] on p. 128.

PLATE
Miss Peacock

Mr. Gilbert Marks is one of the few artists in modern times who have done much *repoussé* work in pewter.

As samples of engraved and chased work applied to pewter, the screen of twenty-four pewter plates and dishes in the President's Court at South Kensington may be cited. They are small in size, the engraving (some of it is of unpleasant subjects) is overdone, and overcrowding is the result.

Mouldings in the best pewter-work are very much kept down, and where they are added for strengthening the rim of a dish or other article are usually underneath the rim. In the Briot and Enderlein type of salver the mouldings are very massive, but not out of proportion to the size and weight of the articles to which they are applied.

Pewter as a rule looks best when quite simple and unadorned, and it is only in rare cases that it has been success-

fully combined with other metals or materials. A small tankard in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam has its more prominent mouldings and features in brass. The latter is not allowed to predominate at all, but is carefully subdued, and thereby the pewter vessel, which is in itself delicate in form and workmanship, is enriched. Had the brass been overdone or allowed to overpower the rest, the effect in so small a vessel would have been crude and disastrous. Copper similarly handled would have looked well. There is another similar specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, but the effect is lost, as the brass has become quite black.

FLEMISH ALMS-DISH
H. J. L. J. Massé

Pewter pierced work applied to wooden vessels never looks quite right. There is no strength in it, and when the wood swells or starts, the pewter cracks, and the days of the vessel are as a rule numbered. Specimens of such work exist, called *Pechkrüge*.[1]

Perhaps the height of absurdity is reached in a small tankard in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the body of which is made of serpentine rudely wrought, and mounted in pewter far too slender in section for the weight it had to support and the consequent strain.

Another form of ornamentation which was easily applied to pewter-ware, and which soon wore out, was "pricked" work. Fine work when carefully done (the tool being forced vertically into the metal) outlasts the carelessly done work

[1] They derived their name from the coating of pitch applied to the inside to render them water-tight.

which was done with a tool or pricker held at an angle of about 45°. This pricked work is either finished by an incised line on either side or left by itself. Sometimes the pricked work is done more boldly, with a larger pricker or possibly a drill point, and the lines so obtained look well if the design is kept to simple S curves.

Pricked ornament—for want of a better name—looks well when restrained in amount. As a border in the flat part of a plate, just finished and accentuated with a kind of feather edge,

DISH IN RELIEF-WORK

it has quite a rich appearance, but its richness depends chiefly on the lines which bound it.

Some pewter is ornamented with stamps either straight or slightly curved, with a plain edge on one side and a serrated edge on the other.

Sometimes the metal is worked on the surface with a chasing-tool for the bolder lines, and the finer lines are added with a graver. The two processes may be seen in the set of engraved plates in the South Kensington Museum.

Where the ornamentation consists in curves a wheel seems

to have been used similar to a knurling-tool. The effect is marred by the jumble of the pattern which occurs when two curves verge or intersect.

Another method of producing ornament is to combine two methods, viz., the point work with either stamped work or the raised blobs, circular or oval in shape.

TYROLEAN DISH
Rev. C. Goddard

Pewter is frequently engraved, but it is very rarely that the decoration suits the object to which it is applied.

A common pewter tankard with shallow scooped cuts in it has a very plebeian look about it; but the cuts soon wear out.

Good pewter will stand good engraving, not the *pointillé* work, nor the joggled ornament, but regular burin work. There are some excellent examples in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam, of ordinary plates, with armorial bearings well engraved on the rim.

Nothing, too, looks more decorative than the simple direct

lettering on some of the Corporation *hanaps*, whether on the body of the vessel or on a shield on the lid.

Italics do not look so well as the upright capitals, but it is mainly a question of the way in which the engraver does his work, as good simple lettering well done is always decorative. As instances of this the Corporation cups in the Cluny Museum may be compared with the tankards in the Museum at South Kensington. Script well done is unusual on pewter, but the "Elizabeth Dering" on the back of the Charles II. dish at South Kensington is excellent.

ENGRAVED AND TOOLED BEAKER
A. Heal, Jun.

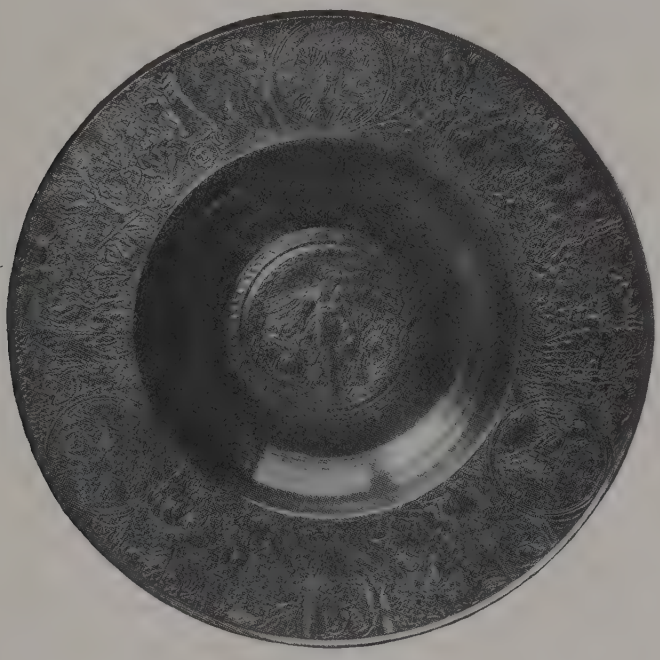
The miserable style of engraving on beer-tankards was probably brought into use by the engraving being required to be in the rim of the bottom, where there was not enough room for the proper use of the graver. When the style was set it was used indiscriminately, even on surfaces where the graver could be used in the ordinary way. This style of engraving consists in detached curves, no attempt being made to complete the curves in the loops of any letters. The lettering is like that used on the incised cards of thirty years ago.

A shield or a coat of arms held up by a figure on the lid is often added to the lid of a large flagon, and gives a clue to the original owner of the pot, and in this way to its date.

In salvers a boss is usually the centre of the ornamentation, as in the Briot and Enderlein specimens, and in the works

copied from them. Occasionally the boss is replaced by a plaque of enamel, not always with a happy effect.

In a large rose-water dish with a raised boss $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, bearing the arms of C. R. (Charles I.) on a brass plaque, enamelled in colours, the chief ornaments are a circle of lenticular *perles* round the rim, and another similar circle about midway between the boss and the rim. These were raised



Dish in Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington

above the flat surface by being struck from the back by means of punches.

Gilding was sometimes applied to pewter, especially to spoons. A specimen with traces of the gilding is in the Museum at South Kensington, and there is another in the British Museum.

Occasionally silver was applied to the ornamental pewter-work used as coffer and furniture decoration, and to the orna-

ments which when painted and lacquered were fixed on beams and rafters.

At one time this use of gilding was restricted to church plate, chiefly chalices; but in the reign of Louis XIV. this restriction was relaxed in favour of pewter in ordinary domestic use.

Another absurdity sometimes committed was the painting and lacquering of domestic pewter. There is a cruet-stand at South Kensington enamelled or painted white and picked out with gold. The effect, combined with that of the gilt incised work on the cruets, is not happy. In the Museum at Nuremberg is a crucifix made of wood overlaid with pewter. The latter has been mercurially gilt.

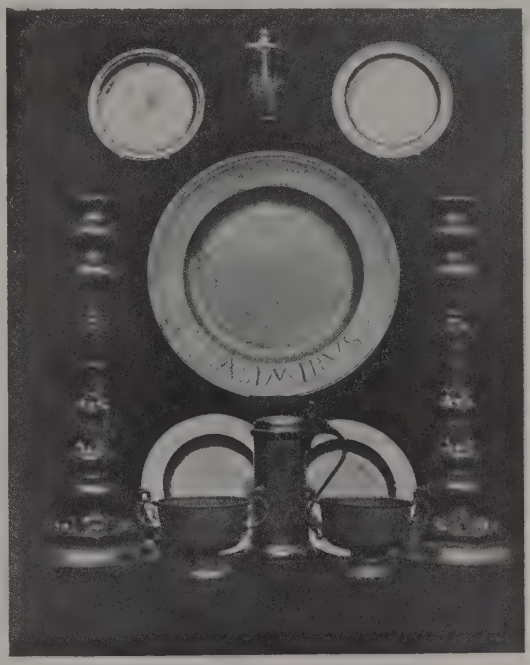
Silvering has also been applied to pewter in modern times, though manufacturers do not recommend the practice. A flagon at Higham Ferrers, which has been restored, is thickly plated with silver. Some of the existing alms-dishes of pewter have also been treated in the same way.

The painting and gilding of tin or pewter was in England always very stringently forbidden. Mr. Welch (ii. 80) mentions "some smallest paynted beakers and salts" which were confiscated at a search made in 1622.

It had been allowed, however (in 1564), to decorate in this manner objects if made for presents, provided that the objects were small, and that it could be proved that they had been given away. Mr. Welch (i. 248) mentions formal warning given to Richard Harrison and Robert Somers for this offence. When Louis XIV. confiscated the plate of his subjects, the latter had to choose between pewter and faïence. If the choice fell upon pewter the users of it were allowed to paint and gild it, a concession which hitherto had been reserved to pewter for church use. This decorated pewter did not become very common, and few genuine specimens have come down to us. Henry de Béthune, Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1680, had various vases lacquered black and ornamented with gold. Fifty years later, in the Inventory of goods at the Château of Rochefoucauld, mention is made of "a goblet of pewter, gilt."

Pewter was used to inlay furniture and domestic woodwork as early as the fifteenth century, in the same way that buhl-work was used at a later date, and that tin, nearly pure, was used to inlay papier-maché work.

In the Musée Plantin at Antwerp is a magnificent cabinet in mahogany, all inlaid with pewter of good quality. The dark tone of the wood and the silvery colour of the metal make a fine contrast, and give a far finer effect than the black cabinet inlaid with brass in an adjoining room. There is another specimen in the Cluny Museum in Paris.



An Array of Pewter
A. F. de Navarro

In recent years pewter has been used in the same way, but in a very tentative and not always successful manner. The colour of the metal—provided it did not tarnish—would be effective enough; but it shows very little in a light-coloured or stained wood. If protected from oxidation by lacquer, it is apt to look hard and uninteresting, and is very different in appearance from pewter regularly and carefully handled. It looks best if inlaid in a wood of medium tone left unlacquered. At the Arts and Crafts Exhibition held in 1903 there was some elaborate furniture made of a delicately stained wood of a pale gray tint inlaid with pewter. The metal somehow did not tell with a setting so nearly of the same tone, and it was finished off too close to the wood. All the effect of

the inlay was lost in the final scraping, sand-papering and lacquering.

ORNAMENTAL TANKARD
Nuremberg Museum

It would be better in pewter-inlay work to keep to a metal of the same composition as that used for the same purpose in the papier-maché ware of the last century.

Professor Herkomer in his house at Bushey has some doors in which the two metals pewter and copper are cleverly combined, the copper being inlaid in the pewter.

The design best suited for such work is that which is best suited for stencilling, *i.e.*, with the surface well broken up into ties.

Pewter *appliqué* work was sometimes used to decorate small caskets and coffers. In the "Catalogue raisonné" of Monsieur Darcel, one of these coffers is described as follows: "Les côtés sont formés de trois frises; l'une de griffons, d'aigles éployées, de basilics, de lions passants, etc., dans des disques circulaires reliés par des barres horizontales, bordées de fleurons symétriques dessus et dessous, comprise entre deux frises de rinceaux, à feuilles d'érable. Une bande de cuivre rouge doré, à saillie, forme soubassement."

FLUTED COFFEE-POT
E. P. Warren

Very often the shape of a vessel has been altered and ornamented after manufacture. There are tankards and coffee-pots extant which have circular bases and lids, but with octagonal or sometimes fluted bodies. The tall flagon in the Nuremberg Museum on p. 134 is an instance in point. From the thickness of the metal it has been able to stand a considerable amount of finishing.[1]

The vertical is not so common as the diagonal fluting, but it is used with good effect, especially in cases where the fluting is only done to a portion, say one-third of the body.

[1] A fine specimen of pewter similarly treated is in the Breslau Museum.

Diagonal fluting is exemplified in the little chocolatière or coffee-pot on p. 135.

Horizontal gadrooning is more common in silver plate than in pewter, but it is found in some Nuremberg dishes of seventeenth-century work.

The stem of the chalice at St. Martin's Church near Wonersh has been altered by cutting and shaping, as will be seen by reference to the drawing on p. 87.

A tankard in South Kensington Museum has some of the mouldings in the lid removed altogether, and the monotony of the multiplicity of similar mouldings is thus broken, with good effect.

There is not much to be said of the ornamentation applied to church plate of pewter. It was, when applied at all, kept particularly simple and restrained. The commonest devices used were the sacred monogram (frequently on the rim), the emblem of the Trinity, the Instruments of the Passion, or a Sacred Heart.

In collection plates, a central device commemorating the donor was not uncommon, such as that at Brington, a redrawn rubbing of which is shown on p. 103.

St. Margaret Pattens, to mention one of the City churches, has plain dishes, with, for ornament, an eight-pointed star radiant with flames, containing in the centre I H S and a cross above it, with the three nails.

At St. Katharine Cree are some fine alms-dishes 18 inches in diameter, considered by Mr. Philip Norman to be some of the finest pewter dishes in existence. He dates them 1628-31, the date of the rebuilding of the church, and of the silver plate also in the church, and says: "There are three pewter alms-dishes of remarkably fine workmanship, and no doubt all of the same date; they have bosses in their centres; on one are the royal arms and the initials C.R.; on another, a sword in saltire, crowned with a rose (this and the harp crowned), and the initials C.R.; on a third, the Prince of Wales' feathers and the initials C.P. All these embellishments are beautifully worked in enamel. There is a fourth pewter dish, identical in design,

with a double rose in the centre, also enamelled, but this has been electro-plated."

Of engraved work the most delicately done is French, as the two specimens shown by Herr Demiani in "Edelzinn" (Plate 34) clearly show, though Mr. C. F. C. Buckmaster's English snuff-boxes are very fine.

Of inlaid work, perhaps the finest existing specimen is the flagon which was once in the possession of Mr. Gurney, and which now belongs to Sir Samuel Montagu. It was for some time a loan exhibit at South Kensington Museum.

PEWTER DISH
A. F. de Navarro

The various decorative panels of figure-subjects in salvers of the Briot and Enderlein type were, like other cast pewter-work, sometimes cast separately with a view to their use as decoration, either alone, or as insets in combination with furniture. Sometimes, as is clear from the plates in Herr Demiani's book, the panels of a salver were utilized in the various sections of a tall flagon. A dish in the Louvre is built up of cast sections, some of them repeated, interspersed with plain pieces.

A small fine moulded tankard in South Kensington Museum is composed of three separate panels, the line of juncture being quite clearly visible.

Arabesques, properly worked and well designed, are most effective decorations on pewter. Nothing can be more attractive than the work of the Nuremberg master, Nikolaus Horch-

heimer, perhaps the father of German pewter arabesques. There is no necessity for high relief; in fact the lower the relief, the better the effect. Some very fine specimens are illustrated by Herr Demiani in his "Edelzinn"—mostly from his own collection. One good specimen is in the British Museum. It is the design that tells, for when once the mould was finished there was little need of further workmanship.

Another method of ornamenting pewter which is rarely met with is that of lacquering with semi-transparent lacquers. Mr. E. P. Warren has a specimen, good in shape, but lacquered a dull dark brown, and further ornamented with festoons of flowers and touches of gold here and there. The effect is sombre in the extreme. A painted or enamelled and gilt cruet-stand in South Kensington Museum, with gilded glass bottles, is now almost grotesque, though probably highly prized by its original owner.

CHAPTER XI

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES IN PEWTER

BADGES, or tokens, of pewter, sometimes of lead, were in great demand by pilgrims as souvenirs of their visit, and as proofs of their having made the actual pilgrimage.

There are specimens extant of palmers' shells that have been buried with deceased pilgrims. A common device is a scallop-shell or a cockle-shell, in commemoration of S. James of Compostella, or in the latter case of S. Michael.

Tokens commemorating Thomas à Becket, the martyr of Canterbury, bore the inscription CAPUT THOMAE. These were generally worn by pilgrims in the twelfth century, who, as Chaucer wrote,

> Set their signys upon their hedes
> And some oppon theyr capp.

There are many of them preserved in the Guildhall Museum of various sizes and shapes. In the same museum is a badge representing Edward the Confessor, which was found at Westminster.

There are also a reliquary in the form of Canterbury Cathedral; a badge to commemorate S. Hubert; and an effigy of Erasmus, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian in 303 A.D. In the same museum is a stone mould for a twelfth-century religious badge, with the legend SIGNUM SANCTE CRUCIS DE WALTHAM. It is figured in vol. xxix. of the "Journal of the B. A. Association," p. 421.

A mould for casting badges of a religious character (seventeenth century) is to be seen in the Cluny Museum. It is well

carved in what looks like lithographic stone. The device consists of a heart-shaped frame of floral design, containing the initials I.H.S. and at the top a floriated cross.

Another specimen of these moulds for casting badges for pilgrims, or other signs, is to be seen in the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh.

This custom of wearing badges prevailed, if it did not originate, in France. In the north S. Denis was the favourite

A Candlebox
G. Frampton, R.A.

saint until he was replaced by S. Michel, while the southern part of the country favoured S. Nicholas. There were, however, many local patron saints, pewter reproductions of whom were in great demand, *e.g.*, S. Jean at Amiens.

Mont Saint-Michel was a most important centre for these badges, and the cockle-shells found on the sands there are supposed to have been the original type of the palmers' shells. This may or may not have been so, but a large trade was done in pewter or leaden shells. Besides these there were more or

less rude representations of S. Michel routing and slaying the dragon, and these are here illustrated.

Rings and models of horns were also made and sold.

The trade in these articles was considerable, and in the fourteenth century a tax of "12 deniers par livre" was imposed on the sale. Naturally the pewterers and dealers protested and made out a very strong case, showing that with the tax pressing on them they could not live, that the pilgrimage was falling into disrepute, and that the personal devotion of the pilgrims was on the wane. Upon this the King, in a lucid interval, gave the people of Mont Saint-Michel exemption for ever from the objectionable tax.

Among the articles specially mentioned in the document[1] are "enseignes de Monseigneur Saint Michiel, coquilles et cornez qui sont nommez et appellez quiencailleries, avecques autre euvre de plon et estaing, getté en moule."

AMPULLAE

The document distinctly shows that the articles were at that time made on the spot, and it states that they were cast in moulds.

Monsieur Corroyer in his book on Mont Saint-Michel gives illustrations of these and of the mould in which some of them had been cast. The badges were obviously intended to be sewn upon the garments, loops in the metal being left for the purpose, or affixed by tangs left upon the back of the badge.

The adjacent island of Tombelaine had a shrine to Notre Dame de Tombelaine, and badges with her image are—in fragments—extant.

Some of these badges would seem to have been made to wear as large brooches or buckles, or, in some cases, as pendants upon the chest. After the pilgrimage was over they

[1] "Ordonnances des Rois de France" (Secousse), vii. pp. 590, 591.

were often fixed up in a prominent place in the home of the pilgrim with other cherished possessions.

Monsieur Corroyer gives a restoration of a pewter horn which, from the figure upon it, must have been designed for use by the Mont Saint-Michel pilgrims. Like the *ampullae*, it bore the fleurs-de-lys of France, and a rough representation of S. Michel transfixing the dragon.

Another pewter badge which was much in demand was that representing the so-called *chemise* of the Virgin Mary at Chartres. It is figured in the "Grande Encyclopédie" (*sub voce* "Chemise"), and from the illustration it can easily be seen how the badge was to be attached to the pilgrim's dress.

Rings, too, were made in pewter; one is shown in M. Corroyer's book on Mont Saint-Michel.

Beggars' and porters' badges were sometimes made in pewter, though more generally in brass, and in later times of zinc.

At South Kensington Museum is a porter's badge of pewter, a by no means common object. There are also some few specimens in the Guildhall Museum.

Beggars in Spain, as early as 1393, had to wear badges of lead. In Edward VI.'s reign, by Act of Parliament, beggars were to "weare openly . . . some notable badge or token."

In the Musée Royale at Brussels there is a beggar's badge, such as was in use up to the end of the eighteenth century by the *Arme Camer* or *Chambre des pauvres*. It consist of an A and a C, with a lion rampant between, holding the A between his front paws and the C in a fold of his tail. The badge is fitted with three loops for attaching to the wearer's cloak or coat.

An *ampulla*, Fr. *ampoule*, was a small vessel for containing incense, for consecrated oil for the sacrament of extreme unction, or oil for the lamps which were kept burning in such sacred places as the tombs of saints. In form they varied, but were often circular, with two handles rather more than halfway up the side. Similar shaped bottles are still made in glass, covered with fine basket- or straw-work, and are used as travelling flasks.

These *ampullae* were used for many purposes, mainly private and devotional. Pilgrims to the Holy Land treasured in them a little dust or sand from Calvary, or some from the site of the Holy Sepulchre, or, again, from the Garden of Olives. Pilgrims to Rome collected dust from the Catacombs. Pilgrims to Mont Saint-Michel brought away some few grains from the treacherous and ever shifting sands. Originally the pilgrims had chipped off pieces of the tomb of S. Aubert, very much in the fashion of some modern tourists, but such vandalism being officially stopped, recourse was had to pewter and leaden keepsakes.

A Quaker Chalice. 1784
W. Niven

These *ampullae* had wide mouths, sometimes carried up somewhat in the shape of a funnel. They were closed merely by pressure, and were worn suspended to the person of the pilgrim by a cord.

The decoration of the *ampullae* varied according to the place at which the relics were collected; but the French ones almost invariably had the three fleurs-de-lys on one side. On the other side there was scope for the pewterer. M. Forgeais ("Plombs historiés de la Seine") describes a noted *ampulla* called "*la larme de Vendôme.*" In this case the three fleurs-de-lys gave way to what was considered more pictorial material. On one side was an altar, and upon it a large ciborium. A saint on the left holds up a large tear over the ciborium; the saint on the right carries a lighted taper. To the left of the altar is a cross *pattée*, with its foot *fitchée*, and over it the legend: LACR | IMA DEI. On the reverse, a knight in full armour, on a horse, clothed. In the field there are leaves and small fleurs-de-lys, and above is the legend: S^{T}. GEO | RGIUS.

A variety of pewter, as a metal for coinage, was used in

the East[1]—it was probably a very hard and pure alloy—and in England, from the time of Elizabeth up to the reign of Charles II., for tradesmen's tokens.

In the time of the Commonwealth (1653) there were pewter farthings made. They had stamped upon them "$\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce of fine pewter," and were looked upon as quite safe, being intrinsically worth their money value.

James II., in his last campaign in Ireland, was driven by lack of money to coin crowns and half-crowns in pewter. He obtained the metal cheaply by appropriating what he found in the houses of the Protestants, and the coins bore the legend: MELIORIS TESSERA FATI. When such coinage as this was current, one can hardly be surprised to hear that "people absconded for fear of being paid their debts."

In the time of James II., and of William and Mary, there were other issues of pewter coins. These had a small piece of copper, usually square, though sometimes round like a rivet, inserted in a hole in the centre, and clenched by the press when the pewter disc was struck. Some of the William and Mary coins were made entirely of pewter.

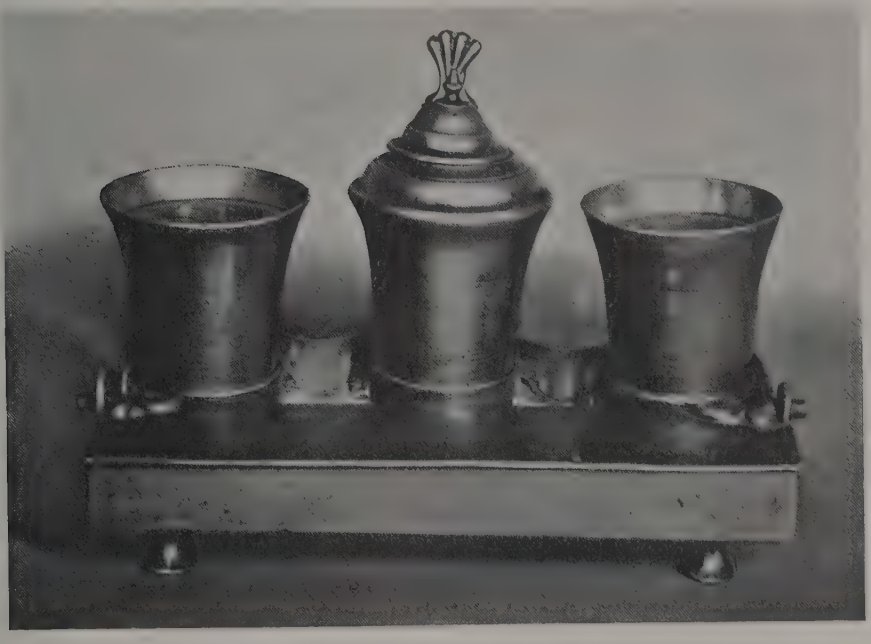
For presentation purposes the *cymaise*, *cimaise*, or *cymarre* was often in request. It was the custom when a king or prince approached a city to which he was about to pay a visit, for a deputation from the city to wait upon the king and offer him wine in a *cimaise*—very much in the way that bouquets of flowers are presented at public functions by small children. The king's attendants had the custom of appropriating as perquisites the wine-vessels so offered; hence, in a practical age, pewter became quite the usual metal for the manufacture of these vessels. They are found fairly generally from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, and specimens are to be met with in most of the museums in the north-east of France and in Belgium.

Cimaises are mentioned as early as 1370, in the inventory of Henri de Poitiers, Bishop of Troyes.

[1] The Siamese coins from the district near Tenasserim were flat and round, four inches in diameter, with rudely drawn birds or dragons.

The *cimaise* was often fitted with two handles: one fixed at one side for holding the vessel when the contents were being poured out; and the other a swing handle, its pivot-points being near the top edge. These swing handles were elaborately wrought and often enriched with cleverly turned work, and were used for carrying the vessels.

Vessels of a similar type were offered as prizes to be com-



AN INKSTAND
A. F. de Navarro

peted for at shooting-matches, and both the victors and the vanquished seem to have been rewarded with pewter cups.[1] These prizes bore the arms of the town, and a device of a gun, or a bow and arrow.

These *cimaises* are chiefly interesting from the fact that they are the principal representatives of the pewter of their epoch which have come down to the present time.

[1] Pint pots and tankards, nominally of pewter, but really of Britannia metal, are still rowed for in college races at Oxford and Cambridge.

Inkstands of varying form date back to an early period, though they were not in common use amongst the lower middle and lower classes. The form of the early metal inkstands is a matter of conjecture, but as the earliest of all were in horn (hence their French title of *cornet*) it is probable that the form was round.

Bapst, quoting from some early document, mentions that 17 sols. 6 deniers were paid to "Goupil, pintier, pour un aincrier d'estaing double d'estaing tout rond, à mettre aincre, plumes, gettouères [jetons] et deux bobêches dedans."

The fact of its being double seems to imply that it had an outer casing to keep safely the miscellaneous items mentioned above, though it may mean that the ink-well was also of pewter.[1]

They were often made of lead, as the specimens in South Kensington Museum, the Cluny and other museums clearly prove, and highly ornamental. Havard gives an illustration of one of the fourteenth century in lead.

The Nuremberg Chronicle represents S. Luke seated with a round pewter inkstand in his left hand.

The later form was a flat tray or dish, with two or three receptacles for the ink and the sand, or the pens and the wax. An interesting type is shown on p. 145, and another of English make from the Croft Lyons collection on p. 147. This latter has a drawer, rather clumsy, it is true, but a feature which added considerably to the original cost.

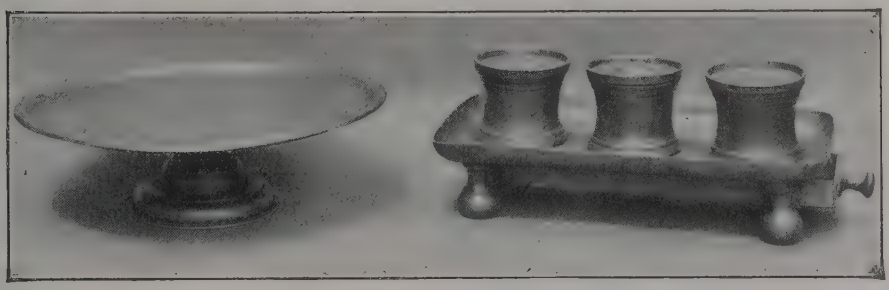
The varieties were: oval standish; large, middle, small chests; large, middle and small Dutch with drawers; cabinet with drawers; and then the type that still survives, large, middle and small loggerheads. The last-mentioned are now, to suit a depraved public taste, made in an alloy very little better than black-metal.

In a picture gallery it is easy to study the various types, and there is no better collection for the purpose than the large set of Corporation pictures in the gallery at the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

[1] Rymer's "Foedera," iii. Part 3, under date 1382, mentions an inkstand of pewter, "unum calamare de stanno."

Our present-day pewter inkstands, called "loggerheads," consist of a circular base and a circular receptacle with lid, with a chinaware well for the ink, and holes to hold the pens, are an old type and will be familiar to many. In some of the early ones there was no ornament at all, or occasionally a few lines on the flat base or on the walls of the receptacle. Occasionally they are met with made of very good pewter. The ink-well was sometimes of pewter, in shape something like a tall hat, but the metal was not good for the colour of the ink.

A weak point in these inkstands was the hinge of the lid, and even in most specimens not of modern make the lid is



A Paten on a Foot and an Early Inkstand
Colonel Croft-Lyons
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Gentlewoman"*)

missing. The reason is not far to seek, for the lid was often placed in such a way that it could not remain open. The same force that was required to give the lid the absolutely necessary angle caused a crack near the hinge, and as force was required to make the lid shut, the perpetual see-saw was fatal. The lids were usually far too heavily weighted in their moulded edge.

This type of pewter inkstand, as we know it, is not beautiful, but its redeeming points were that it would not upset, and that it had a lid to keep out the dust. In the latest pattern makers omit the flat base so as to make the "loggerheads" cheap.

CHAPTER XII

REGULATIONS CONCERNING PEWTERERS

IN most of the foreign regulations the making of a *chef-d'œuvre*, diploma work, proof-piece or essay was insisted upon before a man could set up as a workman on his own account. This regulation was adopted in England in 1619, and the proof-piece was to be submitted for examination to the Master-Warden and Assistants. In Scotland an apprentice, after serving for seven years, could become a freeman after satisfying two masters of the craft by making in a strange workshop certain specified articles.

ARMS OF A FRENCH GUILD OF PEWTERERS

The French workmen were for a long time known as *batteurs d'étain*, as distinguished from the *potiers d'étain*, who made plates and vases, and the *ouvriers de menus œuvres en étain et en plomb*.

These classes of workmen began to differentiate themselves as early as the fourteenth century, and by the end of the sixteenth century the pewterers, or *potiers d'étain*, were to be found in three main divisions, with different technical qualifications and slightly different guild organization.

1. *Les potiers dits de rond*, who had to make a vase with the body in one piece before they could be admitted to the *maîtrise*.

2. *Les potiers maîtres de forge*, who had to make a bowl and a dish with a hammer as their qualification.

3. *Les potiers menuisiers*—that is, the *ouvriers de menus œuvres*, or the makers of rings, pilgrims' badges, toys and small articles generally—who had to make some small thing such as an inkstand.

Regulations of the Scotch Pewterers

The name *batteurs d'étain*, or hammerers of pewter, suggests the name given to the pewterers in some parts of England and in Scotland. There was an elaborate guild organization of "hammermen" in Edinburgh, which comprised all the men who worked in metal, such as goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, armourers, cutlers, saddlers and lorimers. These "hammermen" worked under rules and regulations like those of their southern brethren, in fact like those of any other pewterers, and they had a meeting-place or chapel which, founded in 1504, is still—though now a dispensary—in existence. Here the masters met and took counsel as to the work of the apprentices who, being nearly out of their time, proposed to become masters in their turn.

GERMAN TANKARD
H. Bryan

The nature of the "diploma" work thus required varied at different times, perhaps to prevent the entrance to the rank of master from degenerating into a sure and certain thing; and it is interesting to note that as time went on, *e.g.*, at the end of

the eighteenth century, the standard of the test piece or essay was much lower than it had been a couple of centuries before.

The regulations of these hammermen seem, as in the case of the London workmen, to have been partly based upon a feeling of mutual distrust and a perpetual fear of being overreached. This feeling accounts for the rules that no craftsman was to practise more than one art, or to sell wares made by the member of another craft.

Some English rules seem to be attributable to this same feeling, *e.g.*, the rule as to the hours of working: "The good folk of the trade have also agreed that no one shall be so daring as to work at night upon articles of pewter, seeing that the sight is not so profitable at night or so certain as by day, to the profit, that is, of the community."

The same rule was in force in France and elsewhere.

At first sight the rule for frequent inspection of the workshops by properly qualified persons may seem to have been due to the same distrust and suspicion, but it is generally assumed to have been made from a desire to excel.

Regulations of the Paris Pewterers

The regulations for the Paris pewterers, as given by Etienne Boileau, were as follows:

1. Whatever persons wish to be pewterers in Paris may be so without restriction, if only they do good and lawful work. They may have as many workmen and apprentices as they may wish.

2. No pewterer may work at night, or upon a festival day. Whoever does so will have to pay a fine of five sols. to the King. The light at night is not enough for him to do good and lawful work.

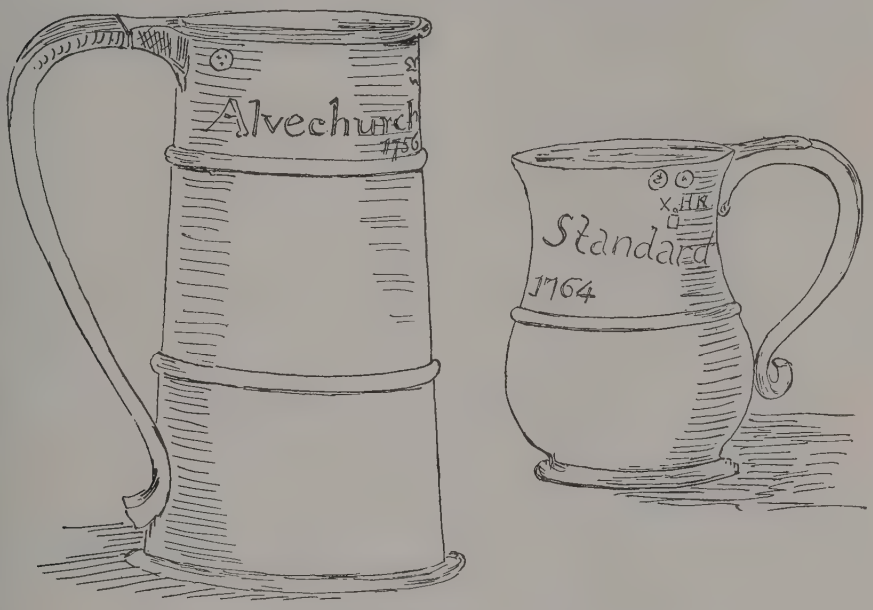
3. No pewterer may or should by law work at any work of his trade which is not well and lawfully alloyed according to the requirements of the work. If he does so he forfeits the work and incurs a fine of five sols. to the King.

4. No coppersmith nor other person may sell wares belong-

ing to the pewterers' trade either in the town or outside, nor in his house, unless it is of good and legal alloy. If he does so he must forfeit the work and pay a fine of five sols. to the King.

5. No one may or ought to sell wares belonging to the pewterers, or is to sell old pewter as new. If he does he must pay a fine of five sols. to the King.

6. The masters of the pewterers require that two experienced masters of the trade be elected by order of the Provost of Paris.



TWO STANDARD MEASURES

The said masters are to swear solemnly that the men of the said trade will keep the above regulations, well and loyally.

7. The pewterers are liable to serve on the watch if they are under sixty years of age.

8. The two experienced masters, elected as above, are exempt from serving on the watch.

9. The pewterers are to pay taxes and other dues, as paid by other citizens of Paris, to the King.

In 1304 the pewterers were required to pay a fine on becoming masters.

A curious point in these French regulations was that the makers' marks had to be registered before Candlemas Day—the 2nd of February. A similar rule was in force in Scotland.

A rule of the Limoges pintiers was as follows: "Que toutes les œuvres que l'on ouvrera, à savoir en écuelles ou en écuellons, en pintes ou en doubliers grands et petits soient d'étain fin sauf 4 livres de plomb qu'on mettra par quintal et une livre de cuivre ce qui profite à l'étain et rend l'ouvrage meilleur.—Comme les fromagières, les coupes, les salières, les pintes de chopine et les mesures de taverne ont les couvercles, si l'on veut leur en donner, qu'on n'ose ouvrer en ces parties qu'en mettant plus de moitié de plomb" (Gay, "Gloss. Arch.," p. 674).

The pewterers of Montpellier had similar rules: écuelles and écuellons were to have 4 per cent. of lead, and the pintes, salières, etc., had to be alloyed with 10 per cent.

The French *potiers d'étain* and *tailleurs d'armure sur étain* had a set of statutes given them in 1613 under Louis XIII.

Any pewterer who wished to be received as a master workman must have served an apprenticeship of six years and then, after serving three years as a journeyman, had to make his *chef-d'œuvre*. This latter was to consist: for a workman in the round, a pot of which the body is to be all of one piece; for a workman who wishes to be a forge hand, a bowl, a hammered plate; for the *menuisier*, *i.e.*, for the workman who wishes to keep on working at small things and *pièces de rapport*, an inkstand.

The sons of masters were exempt from all dues, and were not bound to be apprenticed, nor to make a masterpiece. It was enough for them to have worked three years with their father, or some other master-workman in the guild.

Widows were allowed to keep a workshop and stall for so long a time as they remained widows.

Every pewterer was bound to have his punch or private mark to apply to his work, and these marks had to be stamped on the tables or *rouelles d'essai* which were in the room of the King's Procureur and in that of the Guild of Pewterers.

Each master had to have his two marks, one large and one small. The large one contained the first letter of his baptismal name and his surname *en toutes lettres*; and the small one contained two letters only, the initials of his Christian and of his surname. Besides this, each mark contained the badge of the master, and this was left to his choice.

Works in antimony tin, planished tin and resonant metal were marked underneath. Works in common metal were marked on the upper side.

It was allowed to master pewterers to make all kinds of work in good and fine resonant pewter, alloyed with fine copper and bismuth; also to make other works with common pewter of good quality, if alloyed in such a way that it came up to the *rondeur* of the test with the requisite white colour, with the exception of chalices and patens, which must be made of the best quality of pewter.

It was moreover forbidden them to embellish their works with gold or silver, unless they were intended for use in a church.

Master pewterers were forbidden to work with a hammer before 5 a.m. and after 8 p.m.[1] They could not sell nor have in their shops any new work unless made in Paris or by a Paris pewterer, and they were not to sell old pewter for new.

The society consisted of four sworn masters and wardens (*gardes*), who were in office for two years.

By an edict of 1776 the pewterers were amalgamated with the coppersmiths and the scalemakers.[2]

Ordinance of the Pewterers of Nuremberg, dated 1576

In this Ordinance it was strictly forbidden to all pewterers to make anything with beaten tin, or English tin, otherwise than with pure tin, without the addition of any lead: articles made from beaten tin were to be marked with an eagle and a crown,

[1] *Vide* p. 34 for the English regulation.

[2] This seems a curious amalgamation, but it recalls the Scottish Incorporation of Hammermen. *Vide* p. 149.

and those made and refined after the English fashion were to be marked with an eagle, a crown, and a rose.

The pewterers were to take 10 lb. of tin and 1 of lead, and this tin, or the object made from it, was to be marked with the ordinary eagle of the town; and in accordance with the old customs each master had a private eagle, on the field of which he added a distinguishing mark. The pewterer was furthermore obliged to show his plate of pewter to the master craftsmen before affixing his punch-mark, in order that all men might know it and should not defraud him.

The pewterer, after having his sample-plate approved, was then to punch-mark it, and was bound to hang it up in a conspicuous place, so that all men might recognize his mark when they saw it upon the articles they had in daily use at that time.

In the same ordinance, which probably is a new edition of old customs rather than fresh regulations, we find the "right of search" mentioned as follows:

"The masters must go at least four times a year into all workshops, cellars and shops, to see if all the alloy is pure (*i.e.*, up to the standard). If they find in their inspection defects in work caused by careless casting or bad turning, the article is to be broken up, and if the pieces weigh more than half a pound, the owner of the workshop is to pay a fine of one-twelfth. If the pieces exceed half a pound in weight, they are to be put into the melting-pot."

Regulations of the York Pewterers

York was as early as 1419 an important centre for pewterers. The "Ordinationes Peuderariorum" begin by stating that they are the same as those of the citizens of London, and go on to say that:

1. No pewterer is to cast vessels of bad metal, or to hide flaws in vessels with solder, or to sell such as are blown or badly cracked.

2. A pewterer is to take "nulle alien ne homme naif" as

his apprentice. Nor to take any apprentice for a shorter time

GERMAN FLAGON, SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington
(Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine")

than seven years. No one is to teach the art of a pewterer to a person not belonging to the Company.

4. No betrayal of trade or other secrets is to be made.

5. Hollow-ware is to be "bone, substanciall et profitable, à le oeps [use] de le people de notre seigneur le Roy, et que tout holghware metaill soit d'une assize."

Searchers were to be protected during their work.

6. No one is to be a master in York who was not apprenticed there.

7. A journeyman's wages were not to be more than 40*s*. a year.

8. "Nulle du dit artifice ne leve shoppe" before he has well learnt his trade, and is able "faire loialment chargers, plateres, dysshes, salt-saler, et auxi overaigne quest appelle holghware, si comme potell potte, quarte et pynte et dymy pynt, flat saler, cowped saler, squard saler."

In 1540 it was further agreed that a pewterer was "to cast no vessell but onely of good and fyne mettell," and that he was to make the searchers or their deputy "prevey to the said casting to thintent that the sayd vessell should be good and lawfull." More than this, "every of the said pewderers shall sett his marke of all such vessell as they shall cast hereafter and to have a counterpane thereof to remain in the said common chambre upon payne of every of them that lacks such a mark, and doyth not mark ther vessell therwyth before that they putt them to sayle, to forfet therfor iij^{s} iiij^{d} for every pece to be payd as is before said."

Searchers had to be present at the castings, under penalty of 40*s*.

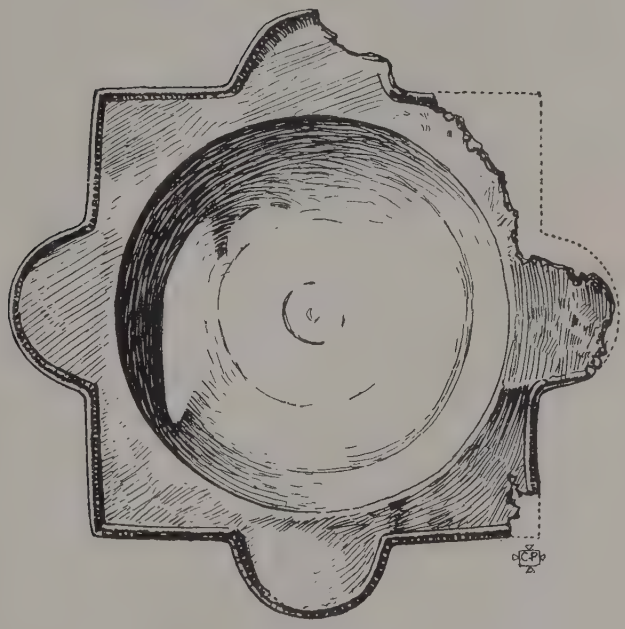
The York Company had sets of moulds for common use, and it was the business of the searchers to "order that every of the same craft shalbe served with the moyldes indifferently," unless the person who required a mould happened to have left unpaid any fines imposed on him by the searchers.

Later again, at various dates up to 1605, the rules and regulations were confirmed with many additions as to matters of detail referring to use of the moulds, drinking in public-houses on Sundays or holy days during Church hours.

Hawkers were only to be supplied with goods for cash.

Customers who were known to owe money to others of the craft for goods were not to be supplied.

All ware of a master pewterer was to be marked with a "proper marke and two letters for his name," with a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* for each piece unmarked, and a fine of 50*s.* a month till the mark should be made.



ROMAN PEWTER NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

STANDING CUP

Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington

(Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine")

CHAPTER XIII

PEWTER IN VARIOUS MUSEUMS

British Museum

THERE is not very much pewter in the British Museum, but the exhibits are all of interest, in that they are by different makers, and in the main made within the space of a few years of one another.

There is a "Temperantia" salver by Briot, somewhat damaged in the rim, and a ewer by the same designer.

Besides this there is a tankard, wrongly ascribed to Briot, with three panels, enriched with emblematical figures, bearing the words PATIENTIA . SOLERTIA . NON VI. The handle is very elaborate and rather slender. This exhibit was formerly in the Bernal collection.

From the Franks collection there is a large dish, in which all the ornamentation has been produced by stamps or punches. In the centre of the dish is a medallion of Henri IV. in Limoges enamel—very possibly an afterthought, and not a very happy one.

Of the other specimens the majority consists of plates of the type so commonly found in foreign museums. All are of German manufacture, and most of them hail from Nuremberg.

One represents Noah offering sacrifice: the border is in four main panels with good arabesques between them.

The plate is marked E.M with a cross, and is dated 1619.

Another has the Resurrection and Angels in the centre, and a border of twelve vesica-shaped panels containing the various emblems of the Passion. Between the panels are delicate arabesques. It has the Nuremberg stamp and letters S. I.

A third plate, one of a very usual type, contains as a centrepiece the Emperor Ferdinand III., and in the border six Electors. This also is Nuremberg work and is marked G. H.

A similar plate has the Emperor Ferdinand II. in the centre, and a border consisting of eleven panels, each with an Emperor. Nuremberg work of about 1630.

A much smaller plate contains the arms of Memmingen. It is dated 1634 and is signed A. L.

Another plate has a border of the Twelve Apostles in nearly round panels, and the Resurrection as a centrepiece. This is Nuremberg work and is marked M.S. (There was a Martin Schaefer, who worked there from 1560 to 1580, but the plate seems slightly later than that date.)

The British Museum also contains one curious exhibit—a flat dish, which was rolled up by a strong-fingered fellow as a *tour de force*.

There is also a Nuremberg tray covered with very delicate arabesques, in diameter about 12 inches. It is not quite like any of those figured in Herr Demiani's book on Edelzinn, but is manifestly of the same type.

Of saltcellars there are two examples of the fluted type shown on page 59, but nearly twice the size.

There are also some most interesting specimens of Roman pewter found at Appleshaw in Hampshire by the Rev. R. G. Engleheart.[1] The shapes of the majority are similar to those of contemporary pottery. Many are dishes, one only being a square lanx. Most of the specimens are naturally much decayed. One is illustrated on p. 157.

These specimens are notable from the designs in the centre of the plates and dishes, executed with a wedge-shaped punch after the articles were finished, and heightened by the application of a bituminous substance in the lines made by the punch-marks.

[1] They are described and figured in part in "Archaeologia," vol. lvi., pp. 7 *sqq*.

Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington

There are several interesting specimens of pewter in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington,[1] but the collection is neither as large nor as widely representative as one might expect to find in what is otherwise such a well-equipped institution. Unfortunately, too, the exhibits are at present scattered in various cases in the main hall on the ground floor, and this detracts from the pleasure and the interest that would be assured by a system of grouping. Perhaps in the future some rearrangement will be found to be practicable. The oldest specimen is probably the little hexagonal casket, in very poor condition, with a hinged lid (Case B 3, 4474—1858). It is very similar in shape to the specimen labelled as a *salière* in the Cluny Museum in Paris, and both have on the top the Annunciation in low relief. The English and French royal arms are on the top. It is described as fourteenth-century work, and as of lead, but from the weight it seems undoubtedly to be pewter. The *salière* in the Cluny Museum is the work of one Bosetus of the thirteenth century. It seems to be more than probable that the caskets were made for containing relics. The one here has the inscription AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM, but is quite plain inside. It has a pretty little border round the base outside, but rather weak feet. The next specimen in point of age is a chalice (in Case N 11) from the tomb of the Abbé de S. Vanne (dated 1452), and is described as having been taken from his tomb at Verdun when it was opened in 1832. The metal is con-

SALIÈRE
Cluny Museum

[1] Part of the collection is on loan for a time only.

siderably corroded, though, if a genuine specimen, it is in remarkably fine preservation. From the weight it might reasonably be taken to be made of lead, the general, though not the invariable, metal for sepulchral use. Church plate is represented by a tall flagon, which was once in Fosdyke Church, Lincolnshire (511—1901), a fine bold piece of work dated 1639, which has been turned out to make room for some nineteenth-century inanity, probably made by machinery and electro-plated at the least possible cost. It has a partly legible mark on the handle—a unicorn with the letters I. F. This flagon was originally in the Shoppee collection. The other specimens of church plate are a whole set from Midhurst, Sussex, consisting of a tall flagon 13 inches high, two chalices, two plates. From a date scratched on one of the vessels, 1671, it is possible to date the set. It was made in London, but the only marks are the crowned X and "superfine metal," and "made in London." The handle of the flagon is poor,[1] being the form compounded of an S and a C (*v.* p. 99), and the lid is somewhat heavy, and rather overloaded with turned mouldings. It seems strange that so little pewter church plate has found its way into the museum, as it is very well equipped with silver and silver-gilt plate of the same description. There is at the other end of the case a graceful paten mounted on a foot. This is a somewhat unusual type, but full of interest. It is early eighteenth-century work, and is lent by Colonel Croft-Lyons. Side by side in Case C 332 are examples of the work of the two best known workers of the sixteenth century.[2] Briot's celebrated "Temperantia" salver and the ewer were undoubtedly the prototypes after which many other salvers and ewers were modelled in the latter half of the sixteenth century. His initials are to be found close to the foot of the female figure which represents "Temperantia," and his portrait medallion is fixed to the back of the central boss with the legend SCULPEBAT FRANCISCUS BRIOT. The Enderlein salver is similar to that of Briot, in that

[1] This type of handle is made now in Britannia metal.

[2] François Briot and Gaspar Enderlein. The former was born at Montbéliard, the latter at Basel.

it also has a figure of "Temperantia," and a border of allegorical figures, emblems, masks and strapwork, on the rim, but the subjects in the border go the reverse way to those in the Briot work. This salver is nearly half an inch wider in diameter than its prototype. The boss at the back has a distinctly German portrait with the inscription SCULPEBAT GASPARD ENDERLEIN. This specimen is dated 1611, and it bears the Nuremberg stamp with G. E. As Enderlein died in 1633, many years after Briot, the claim that Briot copied from Enderlein may safely be ignored. In point of execution the work is less fine and delicate than that of Briot, and the treatment of the subjects in the panels is quite different, as will be seen on close inspection. Briot's ewer (4289—1857) is another fine specimen. Unlike the salver, it was cast in sections and then joined together, and finally very carefully finished by skilled workmen. A salver (of French work) cast in very delicate relief (2064—1855), with an enamel plaque in the centre, has undergone some partial restoration, cleverly done, in different coloured metal. On the outer rim are panels representing incidents in the parable of the Prodigal Son, a story of which designers were always very fond. At the bottom of the salver is a border of allegorical figures and ornament continued up to the raised central boss. The boss contains a framed plaque of gray Limoges enamel, with faint traces of the inscription, TARQUIN . . . SUIS . . . ET. Enamel of any kind does not seem to combine quite happily with pewter, but the grisaille colour certainly harmonizes better than the blue. An extremely interesting relic—for it is nothing else—is in the same case, viz., the lower portion of a pewter ewer which has at one time been gilded. According to Bapst, it is by a worker anterior to Briot. Bapst, writing of the remains at the Cluny Museum, says: "Il suffira de les regarder pour se convaincre que l'aiguière a été fait par un chercheur qui avait peut-être trouvé les véritables procédés, mais qui n'avait ni l'habileté de main de Briot ni sa connaissance du style et de la gravure." Bapst writes rather from the point of view that Briot's work was the acme of perfection, and seems to class all previous workers as blindly

groping after an ideal, and subsequent workers more or less as imitators of the great master. The subject of Susanna and the Elders was a favourite one in the Middle Ages, and it was handled by the French and German pewterers.[1] There is also another salver of French work, very clearly modelled (578—1899). It is cast in very elaborate relief with designs after Etienne Delaune, and the date is probably early sixteenth century. The decoration consists of a centre containing the Temptation of Adam and Eve framed in a curious set of oval panels labelled Astronomie, Minerve, Rhetorique, Musique, Grammatique, Aremetique. On the outer rim are Julius Caesar, Octavius Augustus, Claudius Tiberius, Caius Caligula, Claudius Nero, Domitius Nero, Sergius Galba, Otho, A. Vitellius, Flavius Unus, Titus Vespasianus, Domitianus. The work is considered by Herr Demiani to be earlier than that of Briot, as Delaune died in 1583. It was formerly in the Forman collection.

Of the many excellent specimens of guild cups in the Museum one of the finest and best preserved is the tall and massive sixteenth-century guild tankard (927—1853). The reliefs of allegorical figures (*v.* p. 155) are by Peter Flötner, the well-known medallist. Ornament stamped with punches has been used in this piece in combination with the various mouldings and other cast ornament, and punched ornament is found on the lid and the handle as well as on the body. On the handle is a deep recess containing three shields with the marks: (1) Z, (2) W surmounted by a P, (3) Z. Round the lower part of the body are some thick *appliqué* shields which, on the whole, do not improve the appearance. This tankard, which is either German or Swiss, is a typical example of common-sense construction. It is very solid and massive, but has been so carefully made and strengthened where required, that the feet have not distorted the bottom in the slightest degree. Another tankard (p. 198) is that of the Shoemakers' Guild, dated 1704. Its ornament consists mainly in a multiplicity of fine mouldings, applied in

[1] There is a ewer in the Vermeersch collection at Brussels and another in the national museum at Munich, both differently treated and with differently shaped feet and handles.

three main bands. On the most prominent of the mouldings further ornament above is given by punches, and in some cases by incised work at regular intervals. The bottom edge has a border of either badly worn or else very carelessly made punch-marks. On the handle are the arms of the town in which the Guild once flourished, and on the sides are the names of various officials up to 1776. The hinge is curiously ornamented with notches. The mark on the handle is a plain shield with I. D. above an orb. Another standing cup is that of the Rademachers' Guild. It is taller and more graceful than the others just mentioned, though it would look better without the feet (*v.* p. 158). The lid is domed, and bears on the top the brass figure of a man with his hand outstretched. This cup has its salient mouldings covered with thin brass, but being dull they do not tell against the pewter. In some of the mouldings holes will be noticed—in these were placed either small shields, or rings from which medals or coins were once hung, as in the case of the standing cup now belonging to the Art-Workers' Guild (*v.* p. 63). The marks are a lion rampant in a beaded circle, together with S. D. H. and a sign resembling an hour-glass. This pot bears the date 1659. Another specimen of guild cups is that of the Bakers and Millers. This is more nearly the typical flagon shape, but is supported on three feet, each foot a lion with a shield. It is of late Nuremberg work, and on the shield which is on the lid bears the date 1695. It is fitted with a large brass ornamental tap. The maker's mark is a G inserted in the arms of Nuremberg. From the Shoppee collection the Museum authorities acquired a very fine small German standing cup, dated 1652 (510—1901). The metal is particularly good, and the marks very clearly pressed in three ovals. Another specimen from the same collection is a quart tankard of good shape, no doubt made after a silver model. It has four marks in addition to the crowned X, viz.: (1) an hour-glass, (2) leopard's head, (3) a buckle, (4) lion passant. A very decorative plate (*v.* p. 173), somewhat larger than these cast plates usually are, has its border of thirteen lobes decorated with the arms in relief of the Swiss cantons. From

this fact it may be assumed to be of Swiss make (sixteenth century). From the fashion of the plate it must have been made for show rather than for actual use, and it is moreover of such a very soft alloy that it is a matter of wonder that it should have survived intact to our time.[1] It is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and bears between the arms three shields: (1) G.; (2) a monogram made up of I. S.; (3) a merchant's mark and the legend DO . MAN . 1508, ZELT DER ERSTE PUNDT WARD VON GOTERWELT. M. Bossard of Lucerne says that the original plate is dated 1505. He renders the inscription "à l'époque de 1508 la première confédération a été faite." The Confederation of the thirteen Cantons really dates from 1513.

Among the more recently acquired objects there is a small plate (800—1902), dated 1619, which is interesting from the fact that it is very clearly marked in a shield in the topmost panel with the arms of Nuremberg with the letters B. O. In the central medallion, which represents Noah offering up sacrifice after his exit from the ark, there is the explanatory legend in four lines: NOE . GIENG . AUS | DER ARCH GETR | OST . OPFERDT | 16 . GOTT . 19. This dish is figured in the "Trésor de Numismatique," also in Havard's "Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement." An early dish of 1562—it is so dated on the front rim—contains in the centre an allegorical figure of a woman carrying two twisted horns with wide bell-shaped mouths. The border consists of historical figures, Hannibal, Horatius, Marcus Curtius. Elaborate marks are found on the plate in four shields, not easily legible. On the back of the plate are incised the letters I. K. The maker, according to Demiani, was Nikolaus Horchaimer, or Horcheimer. Between the feet of the woman in the central panel is a framed label with BIGMVNIGEM, whatever that may mean. In this tray, which is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the pattern at first sight looks as though it were etched—the background being quite evenly sunk just low enough to show the pattern—it may have been, as Mr. Mitchell suggests, cast from an etched mould. In point of date it is probably contemporary with the Briot dish, but the treat-

[1] Mr. Osborne Morgan's collection formerly had one of the same kind.

ment of the material is far simpler and more suitable to the characteristics of the metal. Among the other remaining small plates in Case C 332 is a so-called paten containing the Resurrection in the centre, and a border of the Twelve Apostles. There is a similar plate in the British Museum. Both are of Nuremberg work, but of different date—this one being marked with the Nuremberg arms and A. M., while that in the British Museum has the initials M. S. Another small Kaiserteller has the Elector Ferdinand II. in the centre and eleven other Electors represented in the numbered panels of the border. In panel No. 1 are the Nuremberg arms with the letters G. S. (A similar plate, dated 1630, is in the British Museum.) The plates of this size and description, judging from their excellent preservation, would seem to have been show-pieces for internal decoration. The choice of subjects lay between Scripture subjects, such as the Creation, the Temptation of Adam and Eve with a border of various subjects, the Resurrection with the Twelve Apostles as a border, and these historical subjects. Sometimes these plates show traces of added colour; many show signs of having been hung up as mural decorations. A tall screen-case in the S.W. court contains twenty-four plates and dishes of various dates and sizes. Some of them are partly engraved and partly chased with subjects more or less after Hogarth's celebrated paintings, *e. g.*, Canvassing for Votes, Chairing the Member, The Enraged Musician, Times of the Day—Evening, The Harlot's Progress. The effect of this engraved work is not satisfactory, for the depth of the lines is too great for the size of the plates, and the amount of work in each plate is excessive.

KAISERTELLER
Cluny Museum

These plates, all of the eighteenth century, must originally have formed part of a set, as the crest engraved on each is the same. In the same case on the other side are some dishes, for the most part plain, and with two exceptions all eighteenth-century work. Of these plates two are French with a moulded and shaped edge; two are English, quite small and ordinary, of 1748. Of the larger dishes one is an English alms-dish dated at the back 1646, while on the rim is a shield outlined in rather thin scrolls containing the letters E. E. S. and R. T. D. with the date 1662. This later date is the date of its presentation to the church, and the initials are either those of the donors, or more probably those of the churchwardens. It may have been a gift just after the Restoration. The other dish in the case is a loan exhibit; it is late seventeenth-century work, and very much corroded. On the rim is a nice running border, and the dish proper is decorated with a large coat of arms in the centre. One other dish, with a shaped and moulded edge, is English, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century. In a wall-case close by are two very fine specimens of the English pewterer's art. Both are from the same workshop (mark a centaur with I. B. underneath), and both were wrought within a year of one another. The decoration (*v.* p. 169) consists of the royal arms of England with supporters. Surmounting the arms is a helmet crowned, and above again is a lion and the initials of Charles II., C.R. Just below the rim, in the booge of each tray, is *Vivat Rex Carolus Secundus*; on the opposite side *Beati Pacifici*, and the date, in one 1661, and in the other 1662.[1] In the ornamentation of the borders there is some difference. In the later of the two dishes the rim is divided into four sections by circular panels containing at the top a sun in splendour, at the bottom G. T. A. in a wreath of leaves. On each side is a large rose. In the upper half of the rim the remaining spaces are filled with lilies or tulips, and the two lower spaces are filled with scrolls of oak leaves and acorns. The initials G. T. A. are also stamped by punches in the rim. According to the label this tray was given by George III., or some member

[1] In the British Museum is a similar tray.

of his family, to Lord Onslow in 1765. On the other, the earlier dish, the main scheme is the same, but the details of the

CHARGER WITH ARMS OF CHARLES II.
Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington
(Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine")

workmanship are different. There are four circular medallions containing (1) a phoenix, (2) a pelican in its piety, (3) a chained

swan, (4) an eagle bearing a babe in swaddling clothes. Between these medallions are scrolls consisting of sprays of carnations and roses. Most of the linework is punched, though at first sight it would seem to have been done with a wheel. At the back of this tray is engraved in a fine hand "Elizabeth Dering," but of this lady no tradition is forthcoming.

Quart tankards varied considerably in quality and in shape, and seem in many cases to have copied the shape of the silver plate in vogue at the time. In other cases the makers have gone on reproducing the older shape, without noticing the fashion. There are some graceful seventeenth-century tankards (they may be measures) with lids, lent by Colonel Croft-Lyons (pp. 43 and 45). They are rather tall with very thin handles, and in one only is it possible to see what was the original curve of the handles. The metal of the handle is so thin that it is a matter of wonder that the handles were equal to lifting the weight of the tankards when full. In another eighteenth-century jug the purchase of the lid is pretty in shape, borrowed probably from earlier silver ware. In more recent times the twin acorns have degenerated into a very rough V. The shape of these vessels suggests that of the "tappit hens" (p. 112). Of smaller tankards there is not much variety. There is one of German work, attributed to Briot, similar to one in the British Museum which came from the Bernal collection. The sides, which have a curious curve somewhat like the curve of the lower part of the Eddystone lighthouse, contain three panels of emblematical figures with the legends PATIENTIA . SOLERTIA . NON VI. The strapwork is very intricate and looks like modern die-sunk work. The handle is pretty though structurally weak, and has a purchase of unusual design. Possibly the botched appearance of the hinge is due to careless repairs. A curious tankard or can with a very ingenious lid is also to be seen here. The long straight spout also has a lid at the end. There is no handle at the side where the handle usually is found, but there is on the lid a large oval ring handle. To prevent the lid from parting company with the body of the can it is fitted with a rudimentary bayonet catch, and to secure it in one position after the half-

turn is given to it, a hinged staple on the can falls into position on a small staple in the lid—as ingenious and as simple a contrivance as could be wished. This can was a gift on the anniversary of a wedding, and bears the names of the donors upon the front.[1] It is dated 1684. There is also here an eighteenth-century night-lamp (Flemish work) ingeniously fitted with a glass oil-container graduated from six p.m. to seven a.m. Such lamps are not common, probably owing to the weakness of construction in the stem and the wear and tear involved in the refilling and cleaning. A facsimile of this lamp is to be found in the Steen Museum at Antwerp. Some of the measures of various sizes from the Shoppee collection are interesting. They seem to have been very carefully and thoughtfully designed with a view to the rough usage they might be expected to receive from time to time. Those of smaller size are particularly strong and massive. Inkstands of English make are represented by a single specimen, and that a loan from Colonel Croft-Lyons' collection. The exhibit is interesting and in good preservation, in spite of the rather clumsy little drawer underneath the base and the rather delicate feet. Candlesticks again, a branch of the industry of pewter-making to which much well-paid labour of an expert kind was devoted, are represented by one early specimen, possibly Jacobean, from the same collection. The type is not common, and it is rather smaller in size than usual. Just above the portion which forms the circular base is an octagonal collar turned slightly downwards ; the stem above this collar tapers slightly and is symmetrically moulded. Porringers or ear-dishes are also represented by three specimens of seventeenth-century work. One is a veritable blood-porringer or bleeding-dish, as it is graduated by means of grooves to show the contents of the bowl; the other is not so graduated. The small ear-dish has two handles in pierced work, good in design but roughly finished, and a well-stamped specimen of a Tudor rose—the usual or at any rate a very common orna-

[1] A similar pot, octagonal in shape, with decoration in the form of a lion's head on one panel only, is to be found in the Museum of Arts and Crafts at Haarlem.

ment in the bottom of such dishes. These are loan exhibits from Colonel Croft-Lyons' collection. Amongst the miscellaneous objects in pewter may be mentioned a teapot of French make, late seventeenth century, of an unusual shape (in Case No. 11), but of which the general effect is good.[1] In Case B 3 are also a coffee-urn on three stilted feet of the usual Dutch type, and similar to specimens in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam; a flask in the form of a shoe, with a screw stopper and a brass chain for a handle, of the late seventeenth century, is more useful than ornamental. In Case N 11 is a diminutive coffee-pot of a shape more suited for silversmith's work.[2] The mark is in the inside at the bottom, and has the legend FEIN ENGLISCH BLOK ZIN over a figure of S. Michael bearing a scale in one hand and a sword in the other. Unfortunately the maker's name is illegible.

Mention must also be made of a restored seventeenth-century oak dresser (near the west entrance), which came direct to the Museum from Somersetshire, together with the set of dishes and plates of contemporary work, but by different makers. The three largest dishes are the work of Nehemiah Cloudesley; four of the next size are from the workshop of William Withers and are dated '86, *i.e.* 1686. The large charger is stamped I. DYER, the father or the son of L. DYER, a well-known maker. Most of the smaller plates are stamped M. H. for the owner on the front rim, and L. D. (for Lawrence Dyer) on the back. This collection is in rather a dark corridor, and is overlooked by the ordinary visitor. Painted or enamelled pewter is a sorry sight, as the specimen in Case B 3 will prove. It is a cruet-stand, enamelled white, with the ornament picked out in gold to correspond with the cut-glass —also gilded—of the bottles. The whole thing is so tawdry and so cheap that one is tempted to wonder why it has come down to our time. It certainly must have been very carefully

[1] It is very like some of the Scotch "lavers," still preserved in some parishes in Scotland.

[2] Mr. Hugh Bryan has one of similar design, but at least two sizes larger, which came from Alsace.

handled, for it is extremely thin in construction. Is it possible that it owes its long life to the fact that it has no proper handle by means of which it may be lifted? Modern pewter-work is represented by two specimens (in Case C 345) by a French

PLATE WITH ARMS OF THE SWISS CANTONS
Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine"*)

master, Jules Brateau of Paris, well known as a sculptor. His skill as an artist has enabled him to succeed with pewter where so many have failed, and he has mastered the difficulties of making fine castings in the metal. The fault in the work seems to be that he has treated the work as though the metal were

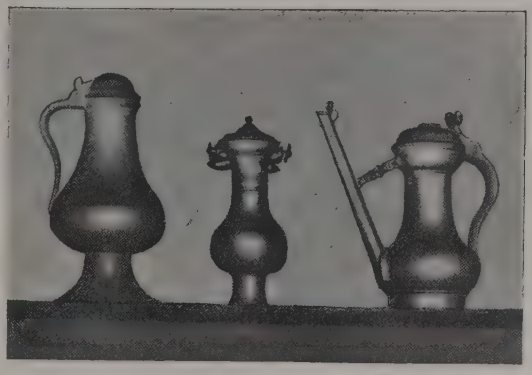
silver, and in so doing has put in too much work. Both the plateaux have rather the appearance of oxidized silver, and it is not till they are handled that this illusion is dispelled, for the work has not the feel of pewter. The smaller of the two plateaux is decorated with relief-work, the subject being chrysanthemums very gracefully treated. There is just a suspicion of stiffness in the border, but it is redeemed by the way in which the petals of some of the flowers in the centre are made to break through the raised encircling border of stalk. The ewer and salver (exhibited in the same case) are both highly elaborate, too much so for the metal. Judging from the wares themselves, the knowledge of the nature of the alloy used has led M. Brateau to model with greater delicacy than would be possible for a work to be cast in ordinary pewter; and it has tempted him to work subsequently upon the castings to a considerable extent. The salver, which in shape recalls the Briot type, contains in the centre a large boss on which is a winged globe emblematic of Fame. Round the boss is a row of cupids bearing a regularly waved label, on which are the names of men eminent in the arts of Architecture, Music, Painting and Sculpture. The field of the salver is divided into four main panels with figures representing the arts mentioned above, each panel being separated from the next by a smaller panel giving the emblems of the various arts, with the tools and instruments used therein. The rim is somewhat heavily moulded with a stiff and mechanically interlaced scroll border, relieved, however, with flower-buds at the ends of the involution of the scroll. The ewer has the chief part of the lower half decorated in relief-work with female figures seated, representing Science, Literature and the Drama. At the back, near the handle, is an emblematic group, rather too crowded perhaps. The handle consists of a nude female figure in an uncomfortable position, leaning backwards and holding up a mirror on high. She is standing on a diminutive corbel, which breaks into the outline of the ewer. The base or foot verges on the commonplace, and the union of the base and the body looks thin and weak, especially the four little S-shaped brackets

which surround the central pillar. M. Brateau's "touch" or punch is original, two rows of figures hanging on a gallows.

Cluny Museum, Paris.

At the Cluny Museum in Paris are some fine specimens of the ware, but they are not grouped in any systematic way, and as the Catalogue is many years out of date, it is difficult to trace them all.

Lovers of Briot's work will find much to interest them. His ewer and basin are well-preserved specimens, though not as perfect as those at the Museum at South Kensington. The ewer is covered with arabesques of great richness, and the handle has three medallions of Faith, Hope and Charity. In the central boss of the basin is the figure of Temperantia, with the initials F. B., and on the back of the boss, *Sculpebat Franciscus Briot*. Round the central boss are the four elements and their attributes. On the rim is a border of the sciences and their emblems. (Cat. Nos. 5189, 5190.)



THREE PEWTER POTS
Cluny Museum

Another ewer and dish (Cat. No. 5191) of the same size as the last-named has been gilded. The ewer has the story of Susannah and the Elders upon it. (A fragment of a similar ewer is in the Museum at South Kensington.)

A basin attributed to Gaspar Enderlein (No. 5193) contains on the boss "Adam and Eve" and "The Temptation," with a rather stiff border encircling it.

On the rim are twelve elongated medallions with figures of emperors, rather an incongruous mixture, further embellished with caryatides and vases of flowers.

The basin is three-eighths of an inch larger in diameter than the Briot specimen.

There is also a basin with Mercury as an ornament in the boss.

A thirteenth-century hexagonal casket is interesting. It is described as a saltcellar, but, like a similar box at South Kensington, is more probably a reliquary. It is the earliest named piece of pewter. The subject of the exterior decoration is the Salutation, viz., two large figures under a portico, with the inscription "Bosetus me fecit. Ave Maria . Gratia plena . Dominus tecum."

Inside is represented Christ crucified, with Mary and S. John, and the inscription "Cum sis in mensa primo de paupere pensa, [et] cum pascis eum, pascis, Amice, Deum."

The specimen at South Kensington, curiously enough, has the Salutation represented on the outside. It is not known who Bosetus was. He may have been a monastic pewterer, a craft the existence of which can only be inferred, not directly proved.

A thirteenth-century chalice is also shown in the Cluny Museum. The bowl is large, with a simple border in relief, a spheroidal knop with a very slender attachment to the bowl, and a graceful foot.

A sixteenth-century French saltcellar, with a barely legible inscription, is also square in shape with a pyramidal lid. A beaker- or cup-shaped goblet, with a wrought handle, is labelled fourteenth century, but it certainly looks at least a century later (5187).

Nos. 5203-7 are five plates of German make, of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, all in relief, with the favourite Scripture subjects, such as the Creation, Paradise, the Temptation, the Expulsion from Eden.

A plate of 1637 is a Kaiserteller (5202) sent to the museum in 1870 by Charles XV., King of Sweden. The central figure is Ferdinand II. D. G. RO. IM. SA. In the border are eleven Emperors of Germany of the House of Hapsburg: Roderic I., Albrecht I., Friedrich III., Albrecht II., Friedrich IV., Maxi-

milian I., Charles V., Ferdinand I., Maximilian II., Rudolf II., Mathias I.

Of large guild-cups and tankards there are three very excellent specimens. There is a seventeenth-century (5210) Flemish one on feet, finely engraved and carved. It belonged to a guild of wheelwrights. Another, German (5213), of about the same date (20¼ inches high), with a well-designed lid, has a bear holding in its paws a shield blazoned with a two-headed eagle and a crown. The feet are made of pewter balls.

A cassolette (5211) for holding consecrated oil with the arms of Charles V. is interesting, partly because it was taken in the pillage of Saragossa in 1808.

A French cruche or pitcher of the sixteenth century is interesting for the wriggled ornament, which was probably added later.

Among the many miscellaneous objects is a pretty little bénitier, sixteenth century, with figure of S. Veronica, which has been painted and gilded (5212). Another specimen is a ewer with long spout and lid, hammered and pierced work, 9¾ inches high. It is Flemish work of the sixteenth century, and in excellent preservation. There is also a tiny ewer with lid, seventeenth-century work, found in dredging the Seine (5216).

Nos. 5195-9 are finds from the church at Avioth (Meuse). The ewer is evidently worked after the Briot type, and on the handle is "Ave Maria Gratia plena. Dominus tecum." It was probably intended for church use.

A small reliquary of 1660, about 2 inches square and 1 inch high (5201), has its hinges composed simply enough of two wire rings.

Musée du Louvre, Paris

At the Louvre there is but a small collection—two specimens of Briot's work—the plateau with the central boss representing Temperantia, and another with a figure of Mars. The difference in the sections of the two plateaux is interesting.

A canette or measure, attributed to Gaspar Enderlein (G. E.), composed of four tiers, is worthy of inspection.

There is also a chalice with a very flat and shallow bowl, with an enormous knop, and a heavy foot divided into eight lobes. It may have been convenient to hold, but it looks heavy, and gives the impression that it has been built up of three odd pieces.

There are also half-a-dozen of the small German Nuremberg plates with flat rims and shallow central depressions, similar to the plates in the South Kensington Museum and the British Museum.

Martin Harscher, a well-known maker of pewter, is said to be represented by a large salver, 15½ inches in diameter, with a central medallion of the Landgrave Augustus of Saxony. The rim is composed of small panels of figure-subjects alternating with plain pieces, some of the figure-subjects being several times repeated. Martin Harscher's (?) mark is on the piece.

Musée Royale, Brussels

At the Musée Royale at Brussels, besides the usual small plates in relief, there is a plate 12 inches in diameter with a border in relief, cast, probably eighteenth-century work (3232).

Another very roughly worked dish (3161) has an archer and a target engraved *à la pointillé*.

Two plates (2566), late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, have as marks the coat of arms of the abbé for whom they were made, and a hammer crowned, the field *semé* with small roses.

A soup-basin with ringed cover has the maker's name in full, "Jean Peter, potier d'étain 17'8." All the decoration, mostly figure-work, has been rubbed till it is indecipherable.

A pilgrim's medal (3777) is Italian work of the sixteenth century, commemorating S. Bernardin of Siena.

A Ghent beggar's badge, in use up to the end of the eighteenth century, has the letters A C for *Arme Camer* (*chambre des pauvres*) joined together by the Lion of Brabant.

A large pewter seder-dish, used by the Jews for the cere-

monies which take place on the first two evenings of the Passover. The decoration consists of an eight-pointed star and well-cut Hebrew inscription.

Engraved pewter is represented by a round disc in commemoration of the raising of the siege of Charleroi in 1677 (3163); also by 1156, a plate belonging to the Guild of S. George, dated 1672.

Briot is represented by a fairly good specimen (4208), and Enderlein by a Mars dish (1125). There is also a ewer after Briot with a medallion representing America with the four seasons above.

A tankard with perfectly cylindrical body (1151) has a knob partly modernized. The ornament consists of four panels of incidents in the life of the Prodigal Son. The thumb-piece or purchase is curious, being composed of two c's each facing a different way.

A tall jug (2700), with inscription of 1659 on a shield on the lid, contains several ornamental borders, all done by means of punches. The feet of the "broc" are three cast lions.

A *Pechkrug* (3407) bears as its design a shield surmounted by a marquis' crown and supporters—a stag and a hind.

There is also a large guild tankard with a large brass tap, the front of the vessel being specially strengthened for the support of the tap. For the feet there are three lions with shields, with various armorial bearings. The "broc" is dated 1652, but the inscription is dated 1666.

Of pewter structurally ornamented there is a cylindrical beer-measure (canette) with diagonal fluted mouldings, all of which are engraved. It is of the end of the sixteenth century. The mark is H. W. with a double-headed eagle. In the lid the brass dome will be noted. Besides this the pot has a brass lip, and a brass ornamental moulding in the foot.

Two goblets (1155 and 2863) are of Liège manufacture. The former is dated 1673, with the Liège mark of an angel; the latter is dated 1724, and has another Liège mark, a rose and LL.

Two large tankards remain to be noticed, both of the seventeenth century. The former (9143) bears a representation of Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac. All round this are flowers and foliage, with a pretty arabesque border at the top and the bottom. The top has been removed and the hole made good. (Mark, a griffin, repeated, with A. B.) The other tankard is a German guild cup, with a row of lions' heads round the top (with a similar row on the curve of the lower half) with rings in their mouths.

Ghent Museum

The most interesting object in the pewter collection here is a touch-plate (1428) of the Ghent pewterers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A rose and a crown is the commonest mark, with various initials placed just below the crown. Perhaps equally common is the mark of a hammer with two small shields, one either side of the handle; on one a lion, on the other a lamb with a flag; the whole surmounted by a crown.

Another mark of interest is a shield with a swan, with a letter on either side. A shield with a chevron is another common mark, and is found surmounted by a crown, the shape of which varies much in the various examples.

No. 1429 is a plate containing the various old marks of the De Keghels, a family which still flourishes and works at the pewterer's trade in Ghent. Among these marks are a rose and crown, with the initials J. D. K. across the rose or else in the crown; others are, in an oval, a fleur-de-lys, with I. D. K. above; a Maltese cross within a circle; a lion within a many-foiled circle; a sheep in a plain oblong; J. D. K., a monogram in script, crowned, in an oval; a heart in an oval; a heart pierced with two arrows, crowned.

Other exhibits interesting from the technical point of view are the moulds for bowls, plates and spoons used up to 1864 at an orphanage in the town. By the side of the moulds are shown the specimens rough from the mould as well as the finished articles. Another technical exhibit is a seventeenth-

century chalice, with a piece fused out of the foot. This was given as a test of skill to be repaired in the presence of several experienced masters of the trade. Attached to it is the piece of raw material with which it was to be repaired.

Other objects are plates and dishes rudely worked with rather inferior designs; a representative collection of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century candlesticks, mostly decorated with gadroon ornament; a portable lamp of the usual type, for a cotton wick in a carved spout; three cruets of the end of the eighteenth century, with very rough, coarse pierced work, the precursors of the common type made in Britannia metal.

There is also a large candlestick (2 feet high) from the chapel of the Butchers' Guild, a very important corporation in its day. This is from the Verbeckhoven collection. It has been much repaired at different times.

Steen Museum, Antwerp

This small museum at Antwerp is not rich in pewter of the artistic type, but is well equipped with the more homely domestic jugs and measures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately the catalogue is by no means recent, and many objects are not yet catalogued.

O. 67 is a very massive seventeenth-century chrismatory with a lid. The vessel is nearly 18 inches high. O. 101 is an eighteenth-century *cafetière*, with a very massive spout, the shape being not unpleasing.

O. 75 is a ewer and basin of the seventeenth centuty; near it is a measure of lead, very thick and strong, bearing the arms of the town and the date 1714. The "hand" in this coat of arms disposes effectually of the false etymology which has given an "ant" as the badge of the town.

O. 48 is a very interesting *hanap*, or guild cup, of the Carpenters' Guild at Schleitz. It is German work, and is dated 1677. The lid is surmounted with a statuette.

A graceful and well-engraved beer-tankard is O. 198. On

the lid are the arms of the town, with S. P. Q. A. The neck bears a shield with 1664, and the belly a shield with a fleur-de-lys. On the handle are two marks—a rose with L. W. above it, and a shield with a plain bend.

O. 209 is a sixteenth-century plate, found in the river, which has been once silvered. It bears the Antwerp mark and the rose, flanked with M. and A.

There are also three well-engraved eighteenth-century plates, decorated with good free arabesque work (O. 240, 241, 242). These are of Brussels make, and bear the crowned rose with the letters J. B. Y.

A plain plate (O. 281) is interesting from the marks. It has the Antwerp mark, the rose surmounted by I. B., and a touch with the maker's name in full, "Joseph Berton, Engel's block tin." On the front of the plate on the rim is "Josephus Callier . Deken . van . den . ouden . Andtboogh . 1777" (Member of the Guild of Handbowmen).

The museum also contains a fork and spoon in pewter of the sixteenth century. Specimens of saltcellar, pepper-pot and mustard-pot of the eighteenth century. Also a lamp (O. 331), same epoch, with glass reservoir, graduated to show the time from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m. There is one like this in the South Kensington Museum.

The small Nuremberg decorative plates are represented by one specimen. In the centre is the Emperor Ferdinand III., and in the border are various Electors, among them those of Spiers, Bavaria and Saxony (O. 342).

Rijks Museum, Amsterdam

Dutch pewter is well represented in this museum, but the objects are not numbered, full information, in most cases, being supplied on the various labels.

A large seder-dish (for use see p. 178), 17 inches in diameter, has a Hebrew inscription on the rim, each word being separated by a star formed of eight daggers meeting at a point. In the centre is an eight-pointed star, as in the specimen in the

Brussels Museum. Hebrew is amply decorative without the star between the words. The inscription recalls Sylvestre's treatment of Hebrew letters, in which he broke each stroke into two parts, and for decorative effect added a dot.

A large pewter tankard with lid has for mark a three-gabled house with three doors. Date 1796.

Another tankard of the Weavers' Guild has a curious knob on the lid. Mark, rose and crown only.

This same mark is found on an engraved eighteenth-century jug, with *pointillé* and wriggled ornament.

Four good specimens of seventeenth-century plates, marked "Jan Gardenier, block tin."

There is also a small cruche with lid, eighteenth-century work, with two marks, the arms of Amsterdam crowned, with W. V. H. in the base of the crown; also a circle containing a stork, with either a C or a G.

A covered porringer, with handles and lid, ornamented with three cocks in *repoussé* work, is undated, but has at the bottom a medallion of the Duke of Marlborough. The ears or handles have a crown and foliage as supporters. Some other specimens have plainer handles and no covers.

The *hanap* of a Bakers' Guild, 1729, is probably Dutch work. The marks are a rose crowned, with two illegible initials. Another similar *hanap* of 1733 is slightly different in its details.

A tea- or spice-caddy unfortunately lacks its cover. It is circular in form, with a small round caddy in the centre. Grouped round this are five separate segmental caddies. Round the foot of the stand is some ornament, chiefly simple interlacing S-scrolls. All the caddies are decorated with a pattern based on some Japanese ornament. The date is 1766.

A seventeenth-century beaker of the usual type is marked with a rose and crown.

A basin with three feet has had to be strengthened with a copper lining to the lower half, it having been found too heavy in proportion to the feet.

A coffee-pot in Louis XV. style on three feet, with top and

tray complete with lamp, is marked with the English mark of the crossed staves crowned, and three shields, (1) N. K., (2) an angel (?), (3) a goose, and the legend "Engels gem[acht], hart tin."

As an example of the wrong application of so soft a metal as pewter is a low tankard of serpentine, mounted with pewter, and with a pewter lid.

An octagonal presentation plate, Louis XV. style, has four of its sides plain, the other four being shaped. It is labelled as having the four English marks, together with the crossed staves crowned.

There is also an English cruet-stand in the style known as Louis XVI.

Of candlesticks there are several. Two are very florid Louis XV., with gadroons and spiral ornament, and mounted on feet. (Mark, a flying angel with the letters H. V. C.)

Two others are renderings of Corinthian pillars on pyramidal bases. (Mark, a nude figure with palm-branch and the letters C. L. S.)

The oldest specimen dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and is ingeniously fashioned and engraved. It is a tankard, circular at the top and bottom, with the intermediate part octagonal. The handle is very elaborate, and the feet are composed of three lions.

Another tankard, a little later in the same century, is fluted in a zigzag way, each change of direction being marked by a plain band. On the lid is a small upright figure. The marks are not at all clear.

Among the rest are two specimens of pewter decorated with brass. One is a coffee-pot, no marks on it, with brass mounts to the top edge and to the edge of the lid. The knob is also brass.

The other specimen is a handsome small drinking vessel, with all the prominent mouldings finished in brass. On the handle at the top is a horse inclining towards the lid, so much that at first sight it looks as though it were the knob. It is really the thumb-piece or purchase.

A large dish of English make has the mark I. F. and a harp in a circle, and the word LONDON in another stamp.

Ruremond is represented by some large dishes, with large marks, a rose crowned, and also an angel with a sword in one hand and a pair of scales in the other. This mark is similar to the Ghent mark.

Four very large *Schenk-Kannen*, two 19 inches, two 21 inches high, of the seventeenth century, are somewhat different in their details, the two larger ones having a much more slender foot. The thumb-piece consists of two acorns growing from one stem, and this is the only added ornament. They are simple and dignified household vessels. The marks are on the handles, but are not clear.

Haarlem Museum of Arts and Crafts

There is some attempt made here to group the pewter exhibits according to their various uses. Upstairs most of the collection is skied, being placed above the wall panelling. There are plenty of plates and dishes, and odd-shaped jugs with abnormally heavy spouts in some cases.

On the overmantel is a curious hexagonal pot with spout, a foot high in all, with a handle on the top. It is perfectly plain, one panel being ornamented with a ring handle, attached to the body of the pot by a bunch of grapes.

The coffee-pots frequently have lids to the spouts, and this points to the fact that pewter was found not to be ideal in the matter of retaining heat.

Spoons are well represented in the kitchen. Some are quite plain, with roughly octagonal handles after the manner of the Elizabethan spoon shown on p. 82. Out of the dozen spoons in an old spoon-rack there are three sugar-sifters. Some of them have the handles very much curved, with two projecting studs to enable the spoon to be grasped securely.

One sifter has the mark A. J. in script in a heart, crowned.

One spoon in the collection here has a bird perched on the curved handle, its beak towards the bowl.

On the dresser are various ornate tea-caddies, bowls with and without lids, mostly eighteenth century, a saltcellar, three pepper-pots, a candlestick with a handle fixed to the cup-like top, and lastly a prettily designed small beaker with diagonally fluted sides and mounted on three small spherical feet.

Cologne Museum

There is much interesting pewter in this well-arranged collection.

Wall-case 54 contains a fine specimen of a salver by François Briot, with the figure of Mars in the centre.

There is also a "Temperantia" salver by Briot, and a specimen of Enderlein's copy, or adaptation, of the same. This is Nuremberg work of 1608, the founder's punch being S.S., *i.e.*, Sebaldus Stoy.

In the same case are some smaller ornamental plates. A French one (seventeenth century) with Adam and Eve in the centre, and ornament after Etienne Delaune, similar to that in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. There are also a tankard of Strassburg make, signed F. B. (hence often attributed to Briot, because the three oval panels are borrowed from the Mars salver); and an Enderlein dish, with the Creation of Eve and four panels representing the Seasons. This is Nuremberg work of 1624, the founder's punch being a W.

Here too are (1) a shallow bowl (Nuremberg, 1600) with a representation of the Wedding at Cana; (2) a small plate (Nuremberg, sixteenth century) with a head and scroll ornament; (3) a square saltcellar of the same date; (4) a Saxon-work plate with coats of arms and a very fine border of the late seventeenth century; (5) a shallow dish of Nuremberg work, with portrait of Gustavus Adolphus painted and gilt; (6) a tray or plate of 1567 by Nicolaus Horcheimer of Coblenz —similar to that in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, and described on page 166; (7) an earlier dish (1560), with the imperial eagle—also of Nuremberg work.

In Case 56 are a hunting-flask of the fifteenth century,

made in Cologne; also a large engraved guild cup with Renaissance ornament, worked at Trebitsch in Moravia and dated 1557. Another guild cup of 1718 originally belonged to the Danzig bakers. There is also a crucifix inlaid with relief-work in tin or pewter, and a miscellaneous collection of small specimens of domestic pewter of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Case 53 contains specimens of relief-work dishes and plates for the most part from Nuremberg. There is an example of the small dish (of which a specimen, also dated 1619, is to be seen at South Kensington) with the centre representing Noah offering sacrifice after coming out of the Ark, with a border of events in the story of Adam and Eve.

Other specimens of Nuremberg work are also decorated with Scripture subjects in small panels, *e.g.*, Christ and the Apostles, or the Resurrection. Sometimes these Scripture subjects are combined with contemporary history, and the plates represent the Resurrection, with a border of seven Electors (dated 1620), with later specimens of Kaiserteller depicting Ferdinand II. and the Electors all on horseback (1627), and one of 1630, similar to a plate in the British Museum representing Ferdinand II. and the eleven princes of the House of Hapsburg, from Rudolf I. to Matthias; and another representing Ferdinand III. (1637-57) and various Electors.

A fine guild cup of 1612 with hanging medallions is preserved in this case, and two beakers, of Cologne work, 1695, the one adorned with Scriptural subjects and the other with a floral design.

There is also a dish with arabesque ornament by Nicolaus Horcheimer of Nuremberg, dated 1570.

Nuremberg Museum

The collection of this museum in Room 29 is very badly placed, and crowded in cases in a dark room where close inspection is impossible. Many of the objects are notable for the beauty of their form and the engraving with which they are

ornamented (*v.* p. 120). Guild cups and large cans, for want of a better name, are well represented. There is one large tankard which is quite Gothic in treatment, though it is of the seventeenth century in actual date (*v.* p. 134).

Domestic pewter vessels are to be seen in great numbers, but can be studied best in the restored kitchen on the top floor.

A Group of Scotch Church Plate
(*Block lent by the proprietors of "The Connoisseur"*)

The greater part of this kitchen is shown in the illustration on p. 77, but the end not seen is also well equipped with cans and kitchen vessels.

Many specimens of domestic pewter are to be seen in the Tyrolean, Dutch, and Bavarian interiors which are preserved in the museum.

The museum is rich in specimens of stoneware mounted with pewter lids, pewter ornament, and in many cases with pewter feet.

CHAPTER XIV

PEWTER MARKS

THE "touch-plates," or plates containing the marks or touches of the various pewterers from about 1640 up to 1824, which are in the possession of the Pewterers' Company, are of great interest, and in fact, with the exception of the charters and records, are the most interesting possession in pewter of the Company.

From a memorandum in the old Book of Inventories belonging to the Company, and quoted by Mr. Welch (i. 165), it appears that "a table of pewter, with every man's mark therein," was in existence in 1540. This may have been one of the earliest touch-plates that were ordered to be made, as Mr. Welch thinks that the practice of requiring the pewterers to register their marks formally originated in 1503-4, when an Act, 19 Henry VII. c. 6, made it compulsory (Welch, i. 94). This touch-plate unfortunately has been lost. Such touches were preserved at the Hall of the Pewterers' Company as early as 1540. But some system of marking[1] wares must have existed at a still earlier date, for in the days when work was liable to confiscation if it fell a few grains below a certain specified standard, self-protection would suggest some private mark or means of identification.

These touch-plates[2] have been exhibited privately at various

[1] In 1492 the Company had four new "markyng irons for Holoweware men" (Welch, i. 78). This entry shows that marking had been done before this date. The reference (on p. 97) to "pots, *sealed*," must also point to the practice of marking.

[2] By special permission of the Company verbal descriptions of the touches are given in Appendix A.

times and places, and the Pewterers' Company have had them fairly well reproduced in collotype in Mr. Welch's book.

The register that seems to have been kept of the members who struck their touches on the touch-plate has unfortunately been lost. If it had had entries no more irregular than those of the touches, it would have still been valuable as a means of throwing light on many touches which are now and will long remain riddles. Mr. Welch unfortunately found that no such register was in existence, and for that reason, no doubt, has passed over the subject of the marks.

The touches are not in chronological[1] order. They seem to have been punched more or less where the owner wished to put them, and the blank spaces have been filled up subsequently with other touches and of other years.

Many of the earlier touches are officially dated, and may be said to cover, with a few intervals, the time from 1673 to 1824. It seems that the usual object of ordering a touch to be dated was that it might be known who were the offenders, the majority of touches being undated. Occasionally, however, new touches were ordered to be used by everybody, and this would account satisfactorily for the fact that quite different touches are found on the existing touch-plates for the same pewterer. The touches vary in size according to the articles on which they were stamped: the smallest punches were used on spoons, and those of larger size on dishes and chargers. The touch-marks usually were the initials of the maker of the pewter, and various other devices such as the Company's quality mark, *i.e.*, the rose or stryk, generally, though not always, with a crown above it, and the maker's mark, as a sun in glory, a hand, a heart, a Catharine wheel, a dolphin, a dog, a caduceus, an angel on a globe, and many other devices. Many marks have been punched upside down, or carelessly, on the top of other marks, making both difficult to decipher; and some have been "faked"—at least, this seems the only explanation of such a touch as that of "Guy Earle of Warwick."

Sometimes the full name of the pewterer is given, some-

[1] The earliest on the first touch-plate is 1644.

times the initials only. This, however, was a matter on which the regulations varied at different times.

Up to 1635 many of the pewterers marked their wares with very colourable imitations of the genuine hall-marks of the Goldsmiths' Company. These marks, no doubt, were intended to deceive the public, and must have done so to some extent; for the Goldsmiths' Company remonstrated very strongly, and appealed to the Privy Council, with the result that the Court of the London Aldermen in the same year made an order that the pewterers should stamp their pewter with one stamp "as anciently hath been accustomed, unless the buyer shall desire his own arms or stamp of his sign to be strucken thereupon" (Welch).

This excellent regulation was not observed, and probably not enforced, for there is plenty of pewter extant with the silver marks, or the colourable imitations thereof, that was made many years subsequently to 1635.

A misconception as to marks on pewter needs some explanation. The Pewterers' Company required the maker, under a penalty, to mark all the pewter he made with his own registered[1] mark, and, if the pewter were of a certain quality, with the mark so well known of an X with a crown above it. This X is sometimes found repeated, and occasionally without the crown.

The London Goldsmiths' Company required all plate exposed for sale to be brought to that Company's Hall to be stamped there with the stamp or hall-mark.

Though the Company did not object to the silver marks, they interfered when these were the only marks on the ware; *e.g.*, in 1681 "John Blackwell was charged with selling trencher plates without any other mark than the silver mark and was fined 20*s*." (Welch, ii. 155).

Yet in 1754 two members were allowed to sell "12 dozen scalloped raised brim plates and dishes in proportion without any other touch than their Silver Touch" (Welch, ii. 194).

In 1688 complaint was made by Mr. Stone that the 17th

[1] Enforced by the Act 19 Henry VII., 1504.

Ordinance was frequently broken, *i.e.*, that pewterers struck touches upon their ware other than those they had struck on the Company's plate of touches.

In November, 1690, complaint was made to the Court against Samuel Hancock for striking his name at length upon his trencher plates, and at each end thereof is struck his own touch and the rose and crown, and for striking the letter X upon ordinary ware, which is a mark generally used by the Mystery to distinguish extraordinary ware.

This touch of the crowned rose could only be used by express permission of the Company.[1] In 1671 it had been agreed (Welch, ii. 144) that from henceforth no person whatsoever shall presume to strike the rose and crown with any additional flourish or the letters of his own or another's name, whereby the mark which is only to be used for goods exported may in time become as other touches and not distinguished.

After consideration the Court, in December, ordered that "no member of the Mystery shall strike any other mark upon his ware than his touch or mark struck upon the plate at the Hall, and the Rose and Crown stamp, and also the Letter X upon extraordinary ware" (Welch, ii. 164). At the same time, though, it was left open to any member to add the word London to the rose and crown stamp, or in his touch, and the proposed striking of the name in full upon hard metal or extraordinary ware was negatived.

In October, 1692-3, "such as have not their names within the compass of their touches" were allowed to put them "at length within the same."

Six months later "this Committee, debating the matter of persons striking their name at length upon their ware within or besides their touches or marks struck on the Hall plate," held that "the practice of striking the worker's or maker's name at length within or besides their touches registered or struck at the Hall is against the general good of the Company;

[1] Certain objects of domestic use (specified in Welch, i. 288) had to be brought (in 1580-1) to the Hall to be stamped with the mark of the Hall by the beadle, after he had found the weight of each article to be 5 lb. the piece.

and that all such persons as have set their names at length within their touches now in use shall alter their several marks or touches by leaving out their name, and register and strike at the Hall their respective new or altered marks or touches without any person's name therein." (Welch, ii. 166.)

This, however, was not taken as final, and on August 11th, 1697-8, it was ordered that none should strike any other mark upon ware than "his own proper touch and the rose and crown stamp"; that any member may strike his name at length between his touch and the rose and crown, also the word London, but that none may strike the letter X except upon extraordinary ware, commonly called "hard metal" ware.

A rose and crown is found also on Scotch, Flemish, Dutch, French and German pewter. It is said by Bapst that it was the distinguishing mark of pewter of the second quality made at Mons.

In spite of Acts of Parliament and other stringent regulations, there seems always to have been a considerable amount of copying, if not counterfeiting, the marks of other pewterers. This will be seen by any one who peruses the lists of pewter plate in the various accounts of church plate that have been published.

As late as 1702 (in the reign of Queen Anne) the Pewterers' Company obtained a charter giving them power to make regulations as to counterfeit. Each member was obliged to deliver to the Master for the time being "one peculiar and selected mark or touch solely and properly of itselfe and for yourselfe only, without adding thereunto any other man's mark in part or in whole, to be struck and impressed on the plate kept in the Hall of the said Company for that purpose; which said mark and none other he shall strike and sette upon his ware of whatsoever sort that he shall make and sell, without diminution or addition, and shall upon striking of such his mark or touch, pay to the renter-warden 6*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* to the clerk for entering the same, and 6*d.* to the beadle."

Then followed a regulation, or rather repetition of previous regulations, as to untruly mixed wrought or unmarked pewter,

which was to be fined one penny a lb.; and another as to pewterers boasting of their own wares, and disparaging that of others, or improperly enticing away another man's customers. For these offences the fine was forty shillings.

One of the chief causes which militate against the making of a complete and correct list is that, apart from the occasional public change of the touches by order of the Court of the Pewterers' Company, private changes were sometimes made. Touches, too, were borrowed or lent in early times by permission of the Company, and for approved reasons.

The following instances from Mr. Welch's book clearly show this.

In 1622-3 Walter Picroft was ordered to change his mark of "three ears of corn" to one ear and his initials.

Thomas Hall had leave to use Mr. Sheppard's touch. Three weeks later it was granted to John Netherwood.

In 1654-5 William Pettiver, apprentice to Oliver Roberts, is not to be made free till next Court, but hath leave to strike Mr. Barnard's touch in the mean time.

[Ralph] Cox was ordered to use as a touch a rose and crown with a knot about it and 1656.

R. Goudge was ordered to make his touch R. G. with a knot about it and 1656.

Thos. Porter in 1683 was ordered to strike as his touch "the Angell and glister serreng" (Welch, ii. 156). This seems to have been a mark of disgrace.

Sands (1689) altered his rose and crown stamp by taking out the place of his abode.

John Blenman in 1725-6 had leave to strike the same touch as Abraham Ford, who had retired from his trade and consented to Blenman's request.

Charles Puckle Maxey (1749) to have pelican and globe instead of James King's touch.

Richard Warde claimed the right of using as his mark a hammer and crown. He based his claim on the fact that his wife had been the widow of Wm. Hartwell, who used it before.

Occasionally a device of what seems to be a portcullis is found on pewter, and this is sometimes the only surviving mark. This portcullis[1] is in reality the English form of the pewterers' sign—so common in France—a trellis of pewter. It was usually circular in form, and the *raison d'être* of the trellis was the ease with which tin in that form could be cut up and used as required, tin in the form of the large bars called *saumons* being far less easy to handle. In the "History of the Pewterers' Company" there are entries at different times of hammers and chisels for making the assay of tin, whether it was the proceeds of sale or of confiscation.

In 1747 a committee made a report on touches, and the following by-law, based on their recommendations, was passed on June 25th: "That all . . . wares capable of a large touch shall be touched with a large touch with the Christian name and Surname either of the maker or the vendor at full length in plain Roman letters. And . . . small wares shall be touched with the small touch—with a penalty of one penny per pound for default" (Welch, ii. 193).

This points to the fact that the old rule of one man one touch had been found impracticable.

Another cause which contributes to the difficulty of making a systematic list of marks is the fact that many pieces of excellent pewter are absolutely without marks of any kind, and for these the shape is the only clue to the date. It may be noted in this connection how closely the pewterers imitated the silversmiths in the shape of their wares, copying new shapes in a very short space of time.

As it is then practically impossible to go farther back than 1640, the remotest date contained on the touch-plates of the Pewterers' Company, and equally impossible to fill up the many existing gaps with any approach to accuracy, it has been thought best to give, by kind permission of the Pewterers' Company, a description of the various touches from the beginning up to the year 1824, when the touch-plates of the Pewterers' Company received their last official touch. This list,

[1] It is sometimes found crowned.

which in many cases consists only of initials, often barely legible, has been supplemented in many cases from the writer's own research and from the lists given in the "Reliquary" and in the various publications dealing in detail with church plate. There are many specimens of pewter extant with the names of makers upon them, which names do not appear on the existing touch-plates of the Pewterers' Company. The pewter thus marked is not to be despised in consequence, any more than the church plate which in so many cases bears no marks at all.

The names of some makers which are not to be found in the touch-plates of the Pewterers' Company, and the names makers whose hall-marks are known are, with several foreign marks, collected from various sources given in Appendix B.

For the further assistance of those who wish to try to date their pewter, the list of Freemen of the Pewterers' Company is also given in Appendix C. The names were, by permission, copied from the Company's official MS. list, giving the dates of any office held by the various freemen.

It must be remembered that the large touch is the most important of any impressed on any pewter. The smaller (so called) "hall-marks" may often, however, help to give a clue, especially where they give the initials. On the other hand the initials in the small marks may differ from those of the name in the large touch, when the ware was made by a manufacturer for sale by a dealer in London or elsewhere. Much of the pewter at Queen's College, Oxford, was made by Samuel Ellis, but some of it bears the additional marks of Thomas Chamberlain; some again bears the name of Alexander Cleeve, and some the name of Richard Norfolk.

Pewter Hall-marks

The pewter hall-marks, for want of a better name, seem to have been made small designedly, after the manner of the silver marks; the shields containing them have often been copies of the silver hall-mark then in use; and the number of

the pewter marks has been kept the same as the silver marks, the pewter stamp being repeated in some cases in four shields side by side, or in others two stamps have been repeated alternately to make up a set of four in all.

These marks being then colourable imitations of silver hall-marks often bore facsimiles of parts of the latter. In this way only is it possible to account for the presence of the leopard's head, the lion rampant, a figure of Britannia—and it may be noted that the cross surmounted by a crown, a very common stamp on pewter, is in itself a silver mark that was formerly placed on silver-ware that came from Exeter.

The presence of single letters as date-marks is not *per se* objectionable, but the practice was copied from that of the Goldsmiths' Company, and probably with intent to deceive.

On many articles of pewter there are found large plain letters punched in the ware, or sometimes smaller letters in shaped punches. These latter are occasionally found crowned. From the fact that the letters A. R., G. R. or W. R. are so found crowned, it has been assumed that they give a clue to the date by accentuating the name of the reigning sovereign. On officially stamped standard measures this is no doubt the meaning of the crown, but V. R. with both letters crowned is found long before 1837, and seems to point to the indiscriminate use of crowned letters. On an alms-dish of 1745 the writer has seen on the rim W. T., W. W., A. P., E. P., A. B., 1745, each letter being crowned.

In the cases where letters such as G. R. with a rose or other device crowned occur in one punch, the letter may be assumed to be a Government stamp. They are found so on pewter measures, frequently with the initials of a maker and a date in another stamp. The makers no doubt kept sets of punches with which to stamp any required initials upon the rims of the plates, or other articles, *e.g.*, the G. T. A. on p. 177.

Long inscriptions done with punches invariably spoil the appearance of the articles so ornamented, especially where the rest of the article is properly engraved. Lady Harvey has a dish, used by Lord Marcus Hill in the Peninsular War,

engraved with his arms, but marred by the letters of the motto, MALO MORI QUAM FOEDARI, being stamped in the soft metal.

GERMAN TANKARD

Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington

(Block lent by the proprietors of "The Burlington Magazine")

APPENDIX A

TOUCHES AT PEWTERERS' HALL

(Described, by special permission, from the reproductions in Mr. Welch's book, and compared with the originals at Pewterers' Hall)

NOTE.—Names in parentheses are conjectural, for the most part being supplied from the List of Freemen and lists of Officials of the Pewterers' Company, articles in museums and collections, and from various other sources. M.=Master of the Company; W.=Warden of the Company; s. b. c.=small beaded circle; v. s. b. c. =very small beaded circle; b. o.=beaded oval; p. o.=plain oval; p. l.=with sprays of palm-leaves at the edges of the punch; p. l. c.=palm-leaves crossed; p. l. c. t.=palm-leaves crossed and tied; b. p.=between pillars.

Touch-plate I

R. L. in an oval; between the letters a comet. (Robert Lucas.)

JOHN SILKE in a beaded circle; below the name a dimidiated rose and pomegranate or a bird. (Warden, 1652, 1655; Master, 1658.) (Struck twice.)

A. H. in v. s. b. c.; device illegible (? elephant's head).

[THE]OPHILUS READING; device, a winged caduceus with two stars above.

Another (?) Theophilus Redding had a touch of three tulips before 1687. He may have been the son of the former Theophilus.

N. K. (or N. R.) in a beaded circle; a hand outstretched grasping a slipped rose. (Nicholas Kelk.)

T. H. in b. o.; a crowned heart between two crossed palm-branches below, and T H. above. (Thomas Howard?)

R. M.; beaded circle with bird and '63.[1] (Ralph Marsh.)

W. G.; device, a —— (?) in a beaded circle.

I. F. in s. b. c.; a harp.

A. F. in s. b. c.; harp rising out of a crown.

S. I. in s. b. c.; a lamb and flag. (Samuel Jackson.)

T. D. in b. c.; a griffin's head erased, on a torse, with crown above. (Thomas Dickenson.)

N. K. or R. in s. b. c.; a talbot, with date 1663.

S. B., with crowned rose-en-soleil.

I. L. or I. D. in s. b. c.; six flowers between the rays of an estoile.

In large plain oval, at the top E. SONNANT in a label; below this, in a cartouche between two palm-branches, a rose with large crown above it; and on a scroll above, J. TAUDIN. (This man was a Frenchman naturalized, who became a freeman in 1657.)

T. H.; in a plain oval a fleur-de-lys, with a palm-spray on either side; at the top a crown, with the letters T. H.

FRA. LEA; a pomegranate with p. l. (He seems to have had two similar punches, but of different sizes.)

JO[NATHAN] INGLES in a beaded oval on a scroll in the upper part of a cartouche; below this 1671 and two hands grasped (p. l.). (A large manufacturer of pewter.)

I. H. in very s. b. c., with a mermaid.

C. S. in s. b. c., with a spray of rose.

I. L., with date '63.

W. C. in b. c., with date 1663.

W. A. in b. c.; a female figure, with anchor, W. A. and date '63.

W. I. in b. c.; an ivy-bush, with W. I. at the sides.

R. I. in c.; a shepherd's crook surmounted by a crown, with date 1657 and R. I.

R. H. in b. c ; two naked boys (? the sign Gemini) holding hands; above them a sun in splendour; between them '64; in margin R. H.

[1] In 1662-3 it was ordered "that all Lay men doe alter their tutches within 14 dayes, w^th^ y^e^ date of 1663" (Welch, ii. 130).

H. P. in b. oval, foliage; below it H. P. and an interlaced knot.

L. F. in oval; a thistle on a stalk, L. F. and 166(?).

T. C. in s. b. c.; an eel, T. C. and date '63.

I. C.; griffin's head erased, and I. C.

G. (?G. L.) in b. c.; a unicorn and a tiny rose.

S. A. in b. c.; a griffin's head erased, a star, S. A. and '66.

B. E. in b. c., with 1664 and a star.

T. F. in b. oval; a fountain.

R. M. in b. c.; a wheatsheaf with R. M.

WILLIAM BURTON in b. c.; device, a hand holding a sceptre.

F. L. in s. b. c.; a pomegranate. Probably Francis Lea (1677?).

(Close to this is a smaller touch, pomegranate only, without initials; probably his smaller touch. He had also a larger one with the same device.)

P. D. in s. b. c.; an hour-glass with P. D.

C. E. or C. R. in a b. c., with a leaf; the letters C. R. or C. E.

W. A. in s. b. c.; a bird, with W. A.

I. F. in b. c.; a crown, two crescents and I. F.

T. B. in b. c., with a bell.

R. H. in b. c.; a locust or grasshopper, with three stars, date '56 and R. H. (? Ralph Hull; J. W., 1671; R. W., 1677; M., 1682.)

N. M. in an octagon; a windmill and 1640 (over it is scratched 1640).

T. S. in b. c.; a portcullis, crowned, with T. S. Each initial is also apparently crowned. (Thomas Stone.)

C. in b. c.; a cock with a crown above.

G. E. in s. b. c.; a double-headed eagle, with date '63 and G. E.

I. C. in b. c.; a head (?the king's head), crowned.

D. I. in b. c., with the lion and the lamb lying down together.

W. W. in b. c.; a cock and date '55.

H. B. in a b. c.; in a shield H. B. between three pears.

L. (?) in s. b. c.; a talbot.

L. A. in b. c.; a hand grasping an anchor, with L. A.

C. T. in s. b. c.; a lion rampant and C. T.

W. M. in s. b. c.; two voided lozenges, one over the other, with W. M. and 1666.

W. A. in l. b. c. (badly punched); a man under a tree.

H. C. in b. oval; a crown and a sword, with portcullis and two stars of five points and H. C. [166]6.

H. I. (?) in s. b. c.; device, a ploughshare (?) and a star.

E. H. in s. b. c.; a sword surmounted by a crown, with E. H.

Peter ——; in oval a shield charged with cinquefoil berries, with palm-spray on either side; above, a ducal crown with Peter [?Duffield or Parke]; p. l. c. t. below.

T. C. in b. c.; device illegible.

F. G. in b. c.; a crescent, with F. G.

W. B. in b. c.; a pegasus, with W. B.

I. B. in s. b. c.; a boar with I. B. and '65, *i.e.*, 1665.

W. I. in v. s. b. c.; W. I. with 1665 (or 6?).

W. M. in circle, with crescent and trace of a star.

T. S. in v. s. b. c., with a pellet and 1663.

Vincent Silk in b. c.; for device a bale of silk (?).

W. W. in v. s. b. c., with a sword.

W. P. in v. s. b. c., with spray of leaves and '63 (1663).

W. P. in b. c., with spray as a background, but date 1655. (Is this an earlier mark of the same pewterer?)

W. E. in large beaded oval; Father Time with hour-glass and scythe.

C. in s. b. c.; winged male figure, to waist only.

W.; a pelican in her piety, dated 164 (?).

W. W.; two thistles in s. b. c., with date 1662.

A. W. in s. b. c., with three roses.

I. (or T.) V. in s. b. c., with a spray of stalks and fruit.

W. D. in b. o., with an antelope's head within a crown.

T. B. in s. b. c., with fox's head erased on a torse.

S. M. in s. b. c., with a dolphin.

R. A. in b. c., with harp (?).

T. M. in b. c.; on a torse an arm erect with a heart held in the hand. (Each initial seems to be crowned.)

T. B. in s. b. c., with a bird flying; above, a sun or star.

I. N. in beaded oval; device illegible (?a hydra erased) (66?).

F. M.; two crossed keys between F. M. (?), with star above.

T. L., with a knot.

I. I. in s. b. c., with a key.

A. L. in b. c.; a hand grasping a hammer and legend GRADATIM.

I. A. (?) in v. s. b. c.; a key and a hook (or anchor), with date '63.

R. S. in oval, with cockatrice on a cap of estate (?).

R. M. in b. c., with two rabbits or hares couped.

B. C. in oval, with crowned thistle below, and a pegasus' head and wings above.

A. F. in b. oval; a sleeved arm holding a bundle of rods with date in full, 1646.

JOHN BU[LL]; a bull's head in b. c., with two stars.

H. H. in oval (no rim), with three hearts (one and two), surmounted by a crown (p. l. c. t.).

I. H. in b. c.; a strake, with fret (or a checker-board?); double punched, and therefore indistinct, date 1663.

C. P. or S. P. in b. c.; a cardinal's hat.

P. H. in a s. shield, with two keys crossed.

F. I.; a diamond, small, with two rods crossed.

I. I. or T. I. in a shield, with a key; date [16]68.

P. P. in plain circle, with beacon; 1668.

W. L. in shield, with beaded edge and date 1668.

T. V. in an oval, with an anchor with legend SPES EST, all contained in a frame of two palm-sprays, twice crossed.

W. D. in v. s. b. c., with date 1668.

B. B. in v. s. b. c., with a peacock and '68.

G. P. in s. b. c., with a two-headed eagle, and '68.

T. S. in s. b. c., with rose and 1668.

W. P. in s. b. c., with spray of leaves and '68.

I. H. in pointed shield, with a crook and a key, and '68.

I. H. in a diamond, a hand grasping a crook or hook, and '68.

W. D. in b. c., with fleur-de-lys and '68.

S. V. in b. c.; a lion rampant, and date . . .

I. I. in b. c., with a crowned hammer and 1666.

T. R. in b. c.; a woolsack (?) and '63.

W. R (?) in b. c., with slipped rose and three stars.

T. S. in s. b. c., with sun or star and 1663.

I. A. in plain rimmed circle, with a lion and a thistle.

R. H. in s. b. oval, with a portcullis and '66.

THOMAS TEMPLEMAN in oval; a temple (p. l. c.). (Warden, 1695; M., 1697.)

S. L.; a crowned knot (p. l.). (?S. Lawrence on Touch-plate II.)

H. F. in s. b. c., with 1668.

T. E.; a limbeck on a stand.

E. N. in s. b. c., with a bird-bolt.

R. T. in b. c., with stag's head couped, and '68.

WILLIAM HALL, with a globe and the signs of the zodiac.

I. T. in b. c., with pair of scissors or shears.

I. H. in p. oval, with an owl framed in two palm-sprays.

RICHARD COLLIER in b. c. (?as rebus, a man bearing a sack, a collier or coal-heaver).

I. C. in s. c., with a thistle.

L. D. in b. c., with a heart transfixed by two arrows and 1668.

R. M. in b. c., with a closed helmet.

L. (or I.) DYER; a shield with three anchors upon it; palm-spray on either side; on a scroll the name Dyer; on a scroll above this LONDINI. (Renter Warden, 1669; M., 1675.)

I. K. in plain rimmed c., with a fleur-de-lys.

In tiny square-pointed shield a crown and '77.

F. P. in b. c., with pelican in her piety.

W. P. in b. c., with a pear, or fig.

CHRYS: RAPER in circle, with dagger between three castles (p. l. c.). (Warden, 1688, 1692; Master, 1694.)

C. N. in b. c.; a swan with wings raised.

JOHN BURTON in oval, at the top; below, a dog and a crown (p. l. c. t.).

NICH. HUNT[ON]; beneath, a crown; below this on a torse a demi-lion holding a stag's head in his paws (p. l. c. t.). The punch is very indistinct.

C. H. in s. b. c., with two cinquefoils.

The next stamp is illegible, except a shield with a greyhound's head erased, on a torse; above, a crown and the word LONDON.

T. P. (or possibly T. D.) in s. b. c. and castle.

T. A. in plain oval; beneath, a crown; below, a plough (p. l. c.).

P. C. in b. c.; a maidenhead, crowned.

R. A. in plain oval over an anchor between a harp and a crown; all between palm-branches.

C. R. in s. c., with lotus-flower. The same punch repeated later on with '74.[1]

I. M. in b. c., on either side of a fat boy's face, and date '68.

C. HOOPER; device, a bird on a trumpet (p. l.).

An illegible punch follows here.

A. W. in s. b. c., with three roses. (Repeated from above, p. 202).

I. G. in s. b. c., with bugle-horn and a star.

IER[EMIAH] LOADER in b. c., with a sun in splendour on an anchor.

B. C. or B. G. in pointed shield, with star and fleur-de-lys.

R. P. in s. b. c., with bird and '71.

H. N. in s. b. c., with Neptune and a trident, riding on a sea-horse.

R. B. in an oval, with skull surmounted by a crown; both initials crowned.

W. H. in oval, with S. George and the dragon (p. l. c.).

In 1674 "a new pewter plate to strike touches on" was bought for *6s. 6d.* This may be the second plate now at Pewterers' Hall, but it is doubtful, as there are touches on the first plate later than 1674; one at least is dated 1680, and there are several for 1676, 1677.

R. W. in s. b. o., with female dancing figure and date '69 (? Venus on a shell on the waves).

David Budden in large b. c., with device of a hand grasping a scroll.

G. C. in plain oval, with ostrich (p. l.).

R. S. in v. s. c.; device illegible (? a hook); date 1669.

R. I. in b. c., with windlass and well.

W. Smith; below this London(?); as device, Prince of Wales' feathers (p. l. c.).

Wil[lia]m Passton in p. oval; below, a crown; on a shield a sun crowned (p. l.).

T. W. in shaped octagonal punch, '70, with four stars.

I. I. in b. c., with two hands clasped, 1670.

John Wo[od] Pott on two scrolls; on a crowned shield three crowns; palm-leaves.

I. C. in b. c.; an open left hand, crowned.

T. H. in b. c.; crossed sceptres, with a bird perched above, a crown above, and 1670 below.

H. S. in diamond-shaped punch.

Roger ——— in plain oval; device illegible (p. l. c.).

I. S. in s. b. c., with a crown.

R. G. in b. c., with a crown.

Thomas Taylor in two scrolls; on a shield a lion passant; palm-leaves. (An earlier touch of his bore the word London. Master, 1704.)

I. C in b. c.; a sun in splendour, rising from clouds.

Parker Loshen; on a crown, above two hands, each with a hammer (p. l. c.).

D. B. in small pointed shield, with a helmet; date 1670.

B: Vokins. In large b. c. name on a scroll, with a crown above, and below, three fleurs-de-lys (p. l.).

L. R. in b. c.; device, a roebuck.

Lewis [Gre]en on scrolls in plain oval; device, a hand grasping a thistle (p. l.).

B. E. in b. c.; a hawk, with raised wings.

I. N. in b. oval; a harp with hammer over.

I. G. in b. c., with three trees.

F. D. in eight-foiled stamp, with four large pellets and twelve smaller ones, and 1672.

S. W., with a crescent and a bird; all defaced.

I. B. in s. b. c.; a flaming heart, crowned.

I. WIDDOWES in l. b. c.; a crown above, and a mitre below.

R. H. in spider's web.

W. R. in b. c.; a shepherd, with crook, sheep and dog.

THO. HUNT in l. b. c.; a greyhound running (p. l. c. t.).

JONAS BOTHWELL; a hand holding fleur-de-lys (p. l. c. t.).

S. W. in b. o., with harp.

JOHN ALLEN, Anno 1671; device, the eagle and child (p. l.). (Renter Warden, 1697.)

E.L., with palm-tree; nearly illegible owing to double stamping.

S. I. in b. c.; a dove with olive-branch in its beak; '71.

R. WOOD in l. b. c.; above the scroll a crown; below, a man with a bow, and a child; palm-leaves. (J. W., 1691; R. W., 1698; M., 1701.)

I. P. in b. c., with Father Time and an hour-glass and scythe. (A similar device is on p. 202, with letters W. E.)

EDWARD RELFE, London; device, a child playing with a dog (p. l. c.).

W. M. in b. c.; a crowned heart (p. l.).

WILL: HOWARD; a leopard's head, ducally crowned; palm-leaves. (W., 1700; M., 1702.)

W. ADKINSON; a cupid with bow and arrow (p. l. c.).

C. C. interlaced, with a dolphin embowed, crowned; 1672.

L. W. in b. c., with a large pellet, crowned.

RALPH HULLS in plain oval; a grasshopper (p. l. c.). (Similar device on punch on p. 201, dated 1656. Warden, 1671, 1677; Master, 1682.)

MABB ERLE; an eagle perched on a knotted snake (p. l.).

T. K. in b. c.; in exergue Charing Crosse; Queen Eleanor's Cross; 1672.

P. I. in b. c., with spray of flowers (? a pink) and '72.

RIC. MODSON on scroll and crown; device on shield, a nowed snake (p. l. c.).

S. Q. in beaded heart, with an arrow and a key; '73.

DANIEL MASON in a double floral border; with device, Samson (or Hercules) between two pillars.

ROBERT GREGGE; device on a shield, a slipped trefoil; 1673.

——; in s. b. c. a bull's head.

G. H. in plain oval; three hearts with a crown above, and palm-leaves, crossed. (Same device as H. H. above, and T. H.)

M. W. in pointed shield, with a hand grasping a crook; '73.

JOHN REDSHAW; device, a running greyhound.

C. R. in b. c., with tulip-flower and '74.

W. S. on shield with three fleurs-de-lys; above, a crown on a cushion. The whole in a large beaded circle (p. l.).

B. T. in p. c., with crown and crossed sword and sceptre (p. l. c. t.).

THO: SKIN (LONDON), with crown; below, an angel with palm-branch; '73 (p. l.).

I. W. in s. b. c., with pair of scales.

In b. c. an alembic and a bell.

Two punches, THO: M[I]DDLET[ON]; device, a man standing behind a tun holding a bunch of grapes and a hammer (p. l.).

JAMES TREW; device, a scallop-shell and five pellets (p. l.).

EGERTON BRYAN; device, the arms of Bryan, three piles (p. l. c. t.). (A device used by W. Tibbing at the bottom of this plate.)

—ARD S . . . P.; device, a griffin's head erased and a crown.

H. Q. in s. b. c., with cross paty and 1674.

I. S. in s. b. c., with fruit-tree and '74.

SAMUEL HAND on a circular band; device, a crown, two stars and a fist or sheaf (?).

THOMAS RIDDING in two scrolls; device, a pelican in her piety in a shield, crowned (p. l.). (Warden in 1697.)

FRA. DURNFORD in oval; device, a seal with a fish on his back (p. l.).

F. M. in b. c., with a mill and wheel.

J[OSIAH] JACOMB; device, a doe with an olive-branch (p. l. c. t.) (St., 1675.)

JOHN [LE]ESON . LONDINI; device, the moon and seven stars (p. l.). (R. W., 1675; M., 1680.)

HENRY PRATT; device, a cat (p. l.).

T. SAUNDERS; device, an elephant's head erased (p. l.).

W. A. in beaded octagon and an acorn, crowned.

H. H. in b. oval (LONDON); a ship and an anchor.

H. F. in s. b. c. and boar's head.

S. F. in oval (LONDON); device, a running hare; '75 (p. l.).

I. E. in b. c.; a duck and '75.

GEORGE HALE. 1675; device, a running hare.

F. W. in s. b. octagon, '75; device, a tun.

C. T. in diamond-shaped punch; beaded edge.

WIL. ONLY; a phoenix (p. l.).

JOHN RAWLINSON . . . LONDINI; device, a mitre (p. l.).

I. K. in s. b. c., with two stars.

IOHN SNO . . BL; device, a globe.

JOHN SMITH; device, two hearts, point to point; 1675 (p. l.).

H. I. in circle with three horseshoes; '75.

. . . ON, LONDON; device, a stag (p. l. c. t.).

JOHN TEAP[E] CHARING CROSS; device, a tripping, man on horseback (? Charles I.).

JOHN HULLS, LONDINI; three Prince of Wales' feathers encircled by a crown (p. l. c. t.). The punch-mark looks as if the DON had been altered to INI. (Warden, 1705; Master, 1709.)

E. I. in circle, with ram's or antelope's head couped.

T. S. in s. b. c., with pomegranate; 1675.

T. S. in s. b. c., with pomegranate; 1675. (A smaller punch of the last maker.)

THOS: KING in large oval; two hands holding an anchor, crowned; date 167- (p. l. c. t.).

O. R. in b. c., with a wrench and '76.

[FRA . .] KNIGHT; device, a beehive. (St., 1692.)

I. COX, LONDINI; device, two cocks respectant, with a crown above (p. l.).

T. R. in b. c., with three tulips; '76.

A. R. in small shield, with lozenge; '76.

[He]len Morse; device, a winged griffin (p. l. c. t.).

G. C., with crown and horseshoe (p. l. c. t.); 1676.

T. G. in b. c., with key and four lozenges.

H. B. in crowned shield, with lion's head erased; 1676 (p. l. c. t.).

D. H. in shield, with key; '76.

I. G. in b. c.; on a shield, the arms of the City of London (p. l.).

P. H. in b. c., with a monkey (?); '76.

Tho. Deacon in large oval with moulded rim; a flaming beacon (p. l. c.).

G. V. in s. b. c., with anchor and a heart.

[Josep]h [F]enton, London, '76; device, three nutmegs (?) (p. l.).

I. P. in s. b. c.; a castle with star above, between four flowers; '76.

T. Cutler; three fleurs-de-lys and three small stars, in shield, crowned (p. l. c.).

H. L. in b. c., with three trees.

Will. Hurs[t]; device, a peacock (p. l. c.).

H. P.; a dexter hand holding a quill pen; 1677.

L. Adams; device, a unicorn's head erased (p. l. c.).

T. H. in plain circle, no rim, with beacon; 1676.

I. I. in diamond-shaped punch and '77; device (?).

Robert Morse in a band; device, a cloven skull with a bone in the cleft of a pipe in the mouth; on the band a porcupine. (L., 1709.)

I. H. in b. c., with two keys in saltire.

Moses West, London, over a shield with a chevron, and three leopards' heads (p. l.).

R. T. in b. c.; a goat with six stars. London.

To. Sharl in b. c., with a crown between two plumes of ostrich feathers, crossed.

Sa[m] Mabbs, London, with a fleur-de-lys issuing from a rose (p. l.).

W. W., with an elaborate double knot (two trefoils joined by a loop) and '77.

I. P. in b. c.; a maidenhead.

W. K. in b. o.

R. D. in diamond, with star; 1677.

Jo. Castle, London; a lion issuing from a castle (p. l.).

Ed. Groves in plain oval; device, a man in a grove of trees.

Jo. Dove in plain oval; a dove perched on a nowed serpent. (Warden in 1703.)

T. T. in shield with beaded edge; a crown and '77.

I. L. in s. b. c.; a two-handled pot and 167[8].

Da. Barton; device, a helmet and '78 (p. l. c.). (Dan. Barton was Warden in 1692 and 1699.)

I. W. in s. c., with four stars; 1678.

John Striblehill; stamped double; device, a mitre between two palm-branches. (Another of this name became a liveryman, 1693.)

Richard Smith in b. c., with three roses. (Warden in 1696, 1702; Master, 1705.)

Henry Hatch in label over an earl's coronet; below, a shield with dog (or lion) (p. l. c.).

Rob. Lock, 1678; device, a padlock or fetterlock (p. l. c.). (L., 1672.)

Thomas Leach; a two-headed eagle, with a crown above (p. l.).

I. C. in b. c., with fox carrying off a goose.

Fra. Paradice in exergue of octagon; device, two angels with flaming swords guarding the Tree of Life.

Jonat[han] Bonkin; device, two cardoons or teazles (p. l. c.).

William Mors[e]; device illegible (? a trivet); palm-leaves at sides.

F. L. in b. c., with skull and crossbones; on top of circle a porcupine.

W. V. in b. c., with '78 and a monumental pillar (? the Monument or Duke of York's Column).

I. N. in shield, with '78 and fleur-de-lys.

R. F. in b. c., with windmill.

W. G. in b. c., with winged Pegasus.

F. (?) P. in b. c.; a horse with a crown over its hindquarters; 1678.

C. R.; device, a building (? the Royal Exchange) badly punched.

Ier Cole; device, a maidenhead with a dagger below (p. l.). (Master, 1683.)

I. P. in b. c., with three roundels.

R. E. in scalloped edge lozenge, with flory cross; '78.

A monogram, undecipherable, only half punched; above, a lion passant (p. l.). (? Thomas Kirk.)

Dan. Blackwell in b. c.; device, a bell with seven roses upon it.

F. F. in b. c.; a bird on a torse, a belled hawk, with a crown above, and '79.

W. P. in b. c., with fleur-de-lys and '79.

J. B. in a framing of two feathers, crossed and tied.

S. K(?)imsted; device, a wheatsheaf, crowned (p. l. c.).

T. W. in b. c., with handbell; 1679.

T. C. in b. c.; within a coiled snake (?).

Luke Porter; device, a porter (?); '79 (p. l. c.).

Will. Fly; device, a fly (p. l. c.). (L., 1691.)

I. H., with thistle, crowned, a bird perched on each leaf.

A. R. in bordered c., with three crosses paty.

И. R. in foliated lozenge, with 1679.

N. I. in b. o., with three lozenges and '79.

Randall; device, a leopard's head.

William Tib(?)bing; device, a pheon (p. l.).

W. N. in s. shield, with crescent and two stars; '87.

E. T. in b. o., with three cranes, one and two.

I. S. with mermaid.

William Hall in l. b. c., with a dexter arm grasping some object in the hand.

B. C. in b. c.; a bird on a torse and 165(1?).

F. P. in b. c., with plough; 1680.

Ionas Betts in b. c.; device, an ass's head erased, with a bugle-horn.

Below this is a tiny punch upside down, with W. H. with '87.

H. T. in b. c., with a hammer, a pair of shears and '80 (badly punched).

Jaques Taudin; on another scroll H. Sonnant; a rose and crown (p. l.).

Francis Knight; device, a spur.

Rich. Shurmes on a shield, crowned; a cinquefoil ornament (p. l.).

Thomas Clarke; in centre a two-tailed merman with hands uplifted. (Warden, 1699, 1706; Master, 1711.)

G. . . . tt. in b. c.; a hand holding a thistle.

I. P. in b. c.; a fleur-de-lys and 1680.

A [P]ickfat Londini; device, three lions rampant; below, four roundels (p. l.).

Two stamps follow which are only partly legible. One has the initial T . . . and a crowned rose-en-soleil; the other William . . . ll and a shield of arms, a fess indebted and three crosslets fitchy.

William Crook[es]; device, two swords in saltire (p. l. at sides).

The above are the names on the first of the existing touch-plates at Pewterers' Hall.

Touch-plate II

R. P. Old P[arr] Aged 152; in centre an old man; R. P. at the sides. (? A descendant of Old Parr, as a Robert Parr was warden in 1767.)

G. Smith in oval, with a plough and three roundels.

Luke Burton; device illegible, name nearly so.

C. R. in b. c.; a dexter hand grasping a mace.

William [Don]ne; device, a snail, large ducal coronet above (p. l.).

S. Lawrence, with a crown; in centre, a knot with S. L. (p. l.).

M. C. in s. b. c., with sugar loaf and '76.

W.(?) M. in s. b. c., with goat's head erased and gorged with a coronet.

A. D. in s. b. c., with spray of oak-leaves and acorn.

A mutilated punch with figure of S. George and the dragon.

T. S. in s. b. c., with tankard.

I. M. in s. b. c., with key.

——; same punch as Tho. Deacon on p. 210; device, a beacon.

Edward [Rand]all; device, a grasshopper, with crown over. (Warden, 1711.)

John (?)onville; device, a crown and six five-pointed stars (p. l.).

Joseph Hooker (?); device, a unicorn's head erased (p. l.).

T. R. in b. c., with a Saracen's head.

I. Savidge; device, Gog and Magog and a bell.

T. Watterer, London; device, a hand supporting a crowned anchor (p. l.). (Warden, 1701.)

Giles Sedgwick in b. c.; a skull, crowned.

Henrey Siblett; device, a Catharine wheel, crowned (p. l.).

W. Wi. (?) in b. c., with a dagger.

N. (?) Gosl[er]; three cinquefoils (p. l.).

Samuel [Hancoc]k; a cock upon a hand (p. l.). (Warden, 1704, 1714.)

[Nich. H]unto[n], London; device, on a torse a demi-lion holding a (?) head couped on a wreath (p. l.).

W. A. in b. c., with '82; device, a man-at-arms bearing a boar's head on a pike.

I. C. in b. c., with floral ornament and 1683.

I. K. in b. c., with crescent and two stars.

E. . . . in p. c.; a figure with a crook; 1681.

R. H. in b. c. and 1682; device, a right-hand glove (?).

B. C. in heart-shaped punch, with a mullet in base.

——; a spiral in a beaded circle.

I. P. in b. c., with a heart and an orb (?), and '83.

Ed: (?) Wicks, London; a unicorn leaping and a wheat-sheaf.

Wil— ——; an eagle; below, a bugle-horn (p. l. c. t.).

Samuel ——ton; device, a sea-horse (p. l.).

T.(?) S., London, with a rose (p. l.).

R. S. in b. c.; LONDINI, with stirrup.

I. S. in shield, with four-petalled flower; '85.

—— JAMES; device, a squirrel (p. l.). (? Anthony James, M. in 1713.)

JAMES CARTER in b. o.; device, a horse and cart.

I. L. in c.; device, hen and chicks.

T. P. in b. c.; a winged figure.

—— FORD; an ox, with large crown above it.

F. G. in b. c., with daisy.

RICHARD SMALPEACE; a bust, crowned.

R. M. LONDON; device, man with bow and arrow (p. l.).

THO. WRIGHT; device, a hand-bell.

WILL. LONG; a shield, crowned; on the shield a thistle and a lion (p. l. c.).

G. G. in b. c.; a bust of a girl.

——; two thistles in p. l. c.

L. (?); figure kneeling on a pyre (?); 1684.

—— SAUNDERS; device, a sun in splendour; between each pair of rays a roundel.

F. K. in s. c.; device, a bird-cage (or doll's house).

THOMAS MARSHALL; device, a crowned tulip (p. l.).

JOSEPH PIDDLE; device, a rhinoceros and six roundels. (L., 1685.)

——; device, Adam and Eve and the Temptation; in scroll BRA . . . .

ED. WILLETT; a bird rising, perched upon a crown (p. l.).

I. C. (CORMETT); two children beneath a tree picking fruit.

T. L. in b. c., with lock and key and '84.

E^D LATT; device, a bird rising upon a crown.

C. O. in s. shield, with a dagger.

A confused punch-mark composed of the same punch struck twice, one being upside down; device, a winged angel or flying cupid.

JOHN PETTIT; device, a unicorn (punch repeated).

JOHN [S]HAKLE in b. c. and date 1685; device, a star of many points, each alternate point bearing a six-pointed star.

William Nicholls; a fleur-de-lys issuing from a castle (p. l.).

E. A. in s. c.; device, a worm from a still.

S. S. in s. c., with a shepherd with a crook and some sheep.

I. S. in s. b. c., with a tankard.

I. M. in s. b. c., with '85.

I. D. in s. b. c., with a dexter hand holding a seal between the thumb and forefinger, and 1685.

C. R. in b. c., with a griffin passant.

I. Nichols in oval, with dragon's head erased (p. l. c.).

Edward Roberts; device, a portcullis (p. l. c.).

Iohn Lawrence; device, a figure in Roman costume. (Warden, 1710, 1719; Master, 1723.)

I. S. in s. b. c.; a . . . (?) between two stars and 1685.

Tho. [S]mith, 1675; device, a seeded pomegranate. (This punch seems ten years out of its place.)

Tho. Cary; device, a dexter hand grasping a key, crowned (p. l. c.).

Iohn Co[ur]sey; device, a cock with large crown and 86.

Henry Adams, Pickadilly; device, Adam and Eve and the Temptation. (L., 1692; Warden, 1713, 1721; Master, 1724.)

I. D. in b. c., with flower-spray and '86.

Tho. Paddon, London. In a shield a bend between three fruits (?) (p. l.). (Steward, 1705.)

W. B. in b. c.; on a torse a lion sejant holding a key; date '85.

N.(?) in v. s. b. c.; an inkstand, or mortar, and 1687.

Thomas Smith; device, a salamander, with crown (p. l.). (St., 1689.)

In large b. oval, a shield of arms, ermine, a bend, and closed helmets on the bend; no name.

W. W. in b. c., with cock and '85.

I. W. in b. c., with alembic and worm; '86.

D. S.; a figure (? S. Stephen) being stoned by three others.

Daniel Parker in b. o.; two hands grasping hammers, an earl's coronet over, and a crown. (U. Warden, 1710.)

Charles ——; device, a winged arrow; '86 (p. l.).

THOMAS ROBERTS; device, a lion rampant, a crown and two stars above (p. l.).

W. B. in b. c., with a cinquefoil, a star, and two roundels.

E. W. in b. c., with a lily, crowned.

T. B. in diamond, with triangular ornaments in border, with two stars.

WILL. HALL, LONDON; a palmer (?).

RICHARD WHITE; device, a pelican in its piety, and date 89. (Warden, 1717, 1725; Master, 1729.)

JAMES TISOE; device, a portcullis (p. l. c. t.). (R. Warden, 1764.)

H. I. in b. c., with a rose and two roundels.

E. O. LONDON in b. o.; device, a wheel of Fortune.

N. SHORTGRAVE; device, a demi-boar on a torse.

Jo. STILE[s]; device, a dove perched on a nowed snake (p. l. c.). (Warden, 1719, 1727; Master, 1730.)

Z. (?) H. in b. c.; a lion rampant to sinister, holding a harp, over both a crown; date 1689.

I. V. in s. c.; a wheatsheaf within a crown.

JOHN FRENCH, 1687, LONDON; device, a harp.

A. C. in b. c.; device, a dexter hand holding a rose. (This punch is repeated.)

RICHARD [PO]PE; device, a sovereign (Queen Elizabeth?) throned and crowned (p. l.).

F. P. in p. c., with three horseshoes, three small pellets and '89.

IOHN CAMBRIDGE; device, a heart with palm-leaves surmounting a clasped book; 1687 (p. l.).

IOHN HOLT, LONDON; device, a comet and various roundels.

ROBERT NICHOLS; an eagle on a globe (p. l.).

F. CASTLE, LONDON; a castle (p. l.).

JOHN TROVT; a trout and a crown above (p. l.).

Jo: COOPER, LONDON; a ship in full sail (p. l.).

CHARLES HVLSE, '90; device, three fleurs-de-lys and five small roundels (p. l.).

E. S., LONDON; a rose (p. l. c.). } (Probably both of the
E. S. in s. c.; a rose and '90. } same maker.)

Samuel ——; device, an interlaced knot with a wheatsheaf.

W. E. in s. b. c., with hour-glass and six roundels.

T. A. O. B.(?) in monogram in s. b. c.

E. M. in b. c.; two busts facing, affronté, with a crown between them at the top.

Thomas Cowdero[y]; a swan with wings addossed (p. l.).

John Baskerville; device, a rose and thistle, dimidiated and crowned. (L., 1695.)

W. in s. shield, with a triangle.

F. C. in b. c., with a nude figure of Venus standing in a shell on the waves.

James Brettell; device, three pears and three roundels (p. l.).

John Olf[n]er, London; device, a seven-branched candlestick and '89.

Samuel Jackson; device, a shield of arms, a chevron indented and three griffins' heads. (Warden, 1673, 1678; Master, 1684, 1687, 1690, 1700, 1714.)

John Laughton in b. o.; device, a vase of flowers.

Daniel Wilson; device, a shield of arms, three coiled snakes.

R. W. in b. o., with five stars; below, a cock and a fox sejant, facing; 1692.

William Brave[ll]; a crowned beacon and '92.

William Clarke; device, a rose and two buds (p. l. c.).

Benjamin Whitaker; device, a shield of arms, three voided lozenges.

I. G. in b. c.; a lion rampant bearing an orb.

J. Cook, London; a stag tripping, similar to the illegible punch on Plate II., p. 209, between those of Pratt and Teape (p. l. of archaic type).

John Donne; device, a hand with a ball with four smaller balls attached; on either side —— (?). (Warden, 1716, 1723.)

T. S. in b. c.; a fox or cat; '92.

John Kenton; device, two large six-rayed stars, I. K. (p. l. c. t.). (Warden, 1702, 1711; Master, 1717.)

William Sandys; on a torse a griffin segreant. (L., 1703.)

THOMAS LEAPIDGE, London; device, a goat and a wheat-sheaf (p. l.). (L., 1696.)

JAMES [SURTE]ES; device, a goat (ibex) and ducal coronet (p. l.).

JOHN PAGE; device, a lion passant under a tree, and two roundels (p. l.). (L., 1697.)

PHILLIP [RUDDO]CK; device, a duck; 1690.

T. B.; device, a bee; '03.

WILLIAM SMITH; device, three Prince of Wales' feathers and a crown above; '92 (p. l. c. t.).

JOHN HULL[S] in b. o.; device, a two-headed eagle surmounted by a crown and two crossed staves; at each side a rose. (Master, 1709.)

I. S. in p. c.; a lion lying down with a lamb (p. l.).

I. P. in b. c., with hammer; '93.

ROBERT TITERTON, dated 1698; device, a sun in splendour (p. l.).

W. C. in b. c.; a syringe and a worm.

E. M. in b. c.; device, a giant; '91.

WILLIAM [COW]LEY; device, Atlas supporting the world. (Warden, 1690, 1693; Master, 1695. Another W. Cowley was Warden, 1732; Master, 1734.)

F. B. in p. oval; arms of Bainbrigge; on shield of arms, a chevron and three battle-axes.

H. M. in p. oval; a marigold between two ears of barley flanked by two palm-branches; in chief H. M. and six pellets with a sun or star above.

JOHN ELDERTON; three tuns (p. l.). (Warden, 1720, 1728; Master, 1731.)

CHARLES CRANLEY; a tent and a lion of England, the arms of the Merchant Taylors' Company; on the field nine pellets (p. l. c. t.).

T[HOS]. WINCHCOMBE; a demi-lion (p. l.).

HARRY GOODMAN; a hen and chickens.

BENJAMIN BOYDEN; a figure of Justice, with a sword and a pair of scales.

I. C. in b. c., with a cock.

I. R. in b. c.; a fox leaping over a heart.

Josiah H . . . r; within a large beaded oval band inclosing seven stars.

Geo. Hammond in p. c.; a dexter arm and hand holding a two-edged dagger.

Samuell (Newb?); name illegible, as the punch was first struck upside down; device, a rose ensigned by a mitre.

Martin Browne in shaped oval; a boat with spread main-sail, with moon and seven stars above.

George Canby; device, a blazing castle or gatehouse and '95.

John Heath in b. o.; a child or dwarf bearing palm-leaf.

R. I. in b. c.; a spray of acorn; '96.

D. I. in centre of a dial face; '94 (obviously out of its place).

Joseph Smith in large plain oval, with a wreath of leaves as a border; in centre the Monument.

Thomas Spring; device, a fountain with two small birds (p. l.).

C. M. in s. c., and a barrel or tun.

L. H. in small shield, with a rose and some animal.

L. C. in s. b. c.; a doll or puppet (?), crowned; '95.

S. B. in a wheel inside a s. b. c.

Henry Brill; a mailed arm holding out a sphere.

W. Clark, London; device, a naked boy holding a heart and a pansy; '96 (p. l.).

I. P. in b. c., with a crescent, surmounted by a rainbow.

William Dimocke; device, a squirrel in a crown.

Everard Glover in p. c. within a small b. c.; three stars; '96.

W. Atlee; device, an anchor, a rose, and two stars above (p. l.).

H. Brastead; a sun in splendour, crowned.

Richard Clarke; a crown, with a dolphin beneath; '96.

John Gi[sber]ne; device, arms barry [ ] and ermine, a lion rampant. (The name of a Robert Gisberne occurs in the roll of Masters and Wardens. He was Master in 1691.)

J. C. or G. in s. b. c.; a wheel; 1697.

JABEZ HARRIS; a leopard's head jessant-de-lys. (R. W., 1734.)

GEORGE NORTH; crest, on a torse a griffin's head ducally gorged.

WILLIAM ELLWOOD; the king's head; '97. (Warden, 1722, 1730; Master, 1733.)

SOLOMON ISMPSON (*i.e.*, Simpson); a lion rampant (p. l.).

JOSEPH BOWDEN; a cherub's head and wings (p. l.).

JOHN SUMMER[S]; two keys in saltire, with a crown at the crossing. (R. W., 1756.)

A. W. in lozenge with b. e.; 1698.

I. T. in do., with a star and two cinquefoils; 1698.

R. W. in c., with lion rampant.

HOWARD STONE, '98; for device, London Stone.

W. P. in b. c., '98, with two hearts.

THOMAS [TILY]ARD; device, a spur and —— (?); '98.

WILLIAM GILLS[ON]; device, a sword, point downwards.

W. M. in b. o.; a crowned heart and eight pellets (p. l.).

W. S. in b. c., with a hand outstretched grasping a tulip or lily.

I. I.; an ox, with an open book above; 1700.

JOHN BARLOW; a tulip rampant and a plough.

ROBERT HAPPEN; a unicorn rampant and arms of City of London.

WILLIAM HEY[WO]OD; device, a bull (p. l.).

JONAS DURAND; device, a rose; above the rose 1699, and a label with R. SONNANT. (Durand was a nephew of James Taudin, whose touch is twice given on Touch-plate I, (a) with E. Sonnant and (b) with H. Sonnant in small extra scrolls. Warden, 1718, 1726. Another Jonas Durand was Warden in 1763.)

RICHARD DYER in b. o.; device, a crown.

W. R. in s. b. c.; above, a sword and a pistol in saltire; below, a star.

BASILL GRAHAM; a hand grasping a cup or chalice (p. l.).

NICHOLAS S[TEA]DMAN; device, a tree-top (?) and a crown.

I. B. in s. b. c., with a gull; '99.

I. C. in b. c.; a girl's head, wreathed.

T. B. in b. c.; a tankard or measure.

THOMAS COOK[E]; a bird in a hand.

I. M. in b. c.; a fleur-de-lys, crowned.

P. C. in b. c.; a handcart; '99.

[EDWARD] LEAPIDGE, London; device, a goat or hare (?) and a wheatsheaf. (Warden, 1724.)

WILLIAM DIGGES; device, a cinquefoil (p. l.).

CHARLES PENDER; device, a horse's head, couped.

F. L. in floral wreath.

CHARLES RAINDELL; device, seven stars and a crescent (p. l.).

DA. BARTON; a helmet; over it a hand grasping a dagger. (Warden, 1692.)

W. H. in b. c., with a fleur-de-lys; 1700.

ANTHONY ——; a crescent, crowned (p. l.).

T. P. in b. c., with a stag's head, crowned; 1700.

BERNARD BABB; arms, a cross crosslet and three crescents (p. l.).

J. E. in b. c., with a bird; '86.

THOMAS PARKER; device, a lion rampant, and six stars, with a coronet above.

THOMAS BENNETT; crest, on a torse a demi-lion holding a crown (p. l.).

JOHN NEWHAM; a lion passant; above, a globe (p. l. c. t.). (Warden, 1731.)

ROBERT DEANE; a statue like that of Charles I. at Charing Cross.

JOHN PRINCE; an armed arm issuing from a coronet, and grasping three ladles.

THOMAS HOPKINS; a bear and ragged staff.

JOHN YEWEN, LONDON; a hand holding out a crowned thistle.

JOHN ——; a naked boy holding up a sceptre and a sword.

I. C. in s. b. c., with a hand grasping a battle-axe; 1701.

In plain circle, a two-headed eagle.

SAMUELL ROSE; a tulip, crowned; 1701.

JOHN C . . . N; device, S. George and the dragon.

I. O. in s. b. c., with harp and a star.

THOS. BUCKBY; a buck's head erased. (L., 1716).

I. H. in b. c., with a lion holding a key.

ROBERT BORMAN; a boar's head couped; 1701.

THO. BURGES, LONDON; a gunner and cannon (p. l.).

NICHOLAS OL——; device, a man's head (p. l.).

JOHN KI[KENTON?], 1702; a shield with five ermine bars.

GEORGE HUME; an interlaced knot and a wheatsheaf.

ANTHONY STURTON; a rose and a mitre; 1702.

I. S[PENCER], 1702; shield of the arms of Spencer: quarterly 1 and 4 silver, 2 and 3 gules fretty gold, over all a bend sable, and three gold escallops on the bend.

THOMAS FRITH; device illegible (? a kettle).

THOMAS ——; device, bust of Queen Anne.

N. [GR.]ANT; the arms of the Cinque Ports: the three leopards of England dimidiated with the hulls of three ships.

D. B. in b. c.; a woolsack, crowned.

DAVID BUDDEN; a hand grasping a staff (p. l.).

WILLIAM ——; device, a bunch of flowers.

TRISTRAM M[UN]ROE; device, a rose and thistle dimidiated and crowned.

GEORGE WINTER; a star, a heart, and a marquis' coronet (p. l.).

W. S. (Scully?) in s. b. c.; a skull surmounted by an eye.

THOMAS SCATTERGOOD; two hands with hammers and a rose. (Warden in 1733. Another Thomas Scattergood was Warden in 1760 and 1773, and Master in 1774 and 1775.)

THOMAS BECKON; a rose within a monogram.

NICHOLAS JACKMAN; a man and a turnstile (?). (Warden, 1733; Master, 1735.)

JOHN SMITH; a chevron engrailed and six crosslets fitchy, with three fleurs-de-lys on the chevron.

I. S. in b. o., with a flower and a sun.

This is the end of the second touch-plate. Many of the last two rows of touches are almost illegible and are carelessly

punched. It is to be presumed that as long as the beadle and the clerk got their fees the legibility of the punch was not considered.

Touch-plate III

Samuel Taylor; a cock on a plough.

Samuel Righton; a cock, two crossed sprigs of olive below.

Johnson [and] Chamberlain; the Prince of Wales' feathers, crowned.

James Tisoe; portcullis. (A Warden in 1764 bore the same punch.)

John Jackson; an hour-glass and three fleurs-de-lys. (Warden in 1712.)

Sam. Jeffery; a rose and two fleurs-de-lys above.

Wm. Murray; a crested bird on nowed serpent, a star above.

R. P. in the centre of a clock-face.

John Scattergood; two hands with hammers and a rose (p. l.).

Richard Smith; device, a plough and a star. (Warden, 1696, 1702; Master, 1705.)

Henry Maxted;[1] b. p. a sun (in part) shining on a rose.

Thomas Sollet (?Collet) b. p.; a crown above, a wool-sack and a rose below.

An illegible punch follows here.

W. D. and a star above.

A Rose and Crown. No name or letters are in this touch.

Jonathan Cotton, 1705; an eagle displayed, a crescent, a hand with flower-spray, and dove. (Warden, 1734; Master, 1736.)

Robert Massam; three fleurs-de-lys and a rose below (p. l.).

John Piggott; a figure of a Roman.

P. M. in b. o., with a boy naked to the waist, holding a popgun and a rattle.

[1] With this punch the series begins with pillars at either side, of ever-varying forms, the palm-leaves becoming somewhat more scarce.

I. W. in p. c., with a star and a bell.

Daniel Grendon; crest, on a torse a bird (p. l.).

Alexander Stout; a cock on a globe mounted on a stand.

Thomas Scattergood; arms, two bars and three hands, with helm and mantling; and crest, an open hand. (Warden, 1760.)

Fly and Thompson in oval; device, a fly. (Timothy Fly was Warden in 1737; Master, 1739.)

Henry Little; b. p. a cock, with crown above. (A Warden in 1755 was so named.)

Thomas Groce; b. p. three crowns.

Robert Hitchman; b. p. a lion rampant bearing a key. (Warden, 1752 and 1761.)

John Jupe; a fleur-de-lys issuing from a rose. (Warden, 1750, 1759; Master, 1761.)

Samuel Grigg; a sun in splendour and a snake.

Patrick Lerioch(?); two leopards' heads point to point, one above, the other below; a curious saltire device.

Edmund Sharrock; arms, a chevron and three human heads.

R. P. in p. c., with a cock and a pheasant.

Robert Patience; a standing figure of a queen. (Warden, 1771; Master, 1772.)

William Handy; device, a hand and a weight (?) above.

John Kenrick; b. p. a stork.

Francis Piggott; a teazle and a crescent above. (Warden, 1769; Master, 1770.)

George Alderson; a lion looking back issuing from a mural crown and holding an escallop; on the field a crescent and a star. (Other Aldersons bore the same device.)

Philip Roberts; arms, a lion rampant, and a crescent for difference.

Robert Skynner; crest, on a torse a unicorn sejant, and a star.

John Belson; b. p. a bell over a sun.

Bartholomew Ellicott; a female figure pointing with a sceptre.

William Cowling b. p.; crest, on a torse a demi-griffin sejant.

Wood [and] Michell; device, bust of a man in a wig.

William Highmore; three fleurs-de-lys.

V. S. in p. c., with a Britannia.

Thomas Ubly; b. p. a stag holding up a wheatsheaf.

John Foster; b. p. a crowned book or Bible.

T. M.; an oval with demi-mermaid (?) holding up two double balls, the whole surrounded with palm-leaves.

Thos. Boardman b. p.; arms, a lion passant and three stars, impaling a chief ermine with a demi-lion on the chief.

Edward Quick (?); arms, a chevron vair (?) and three griffins' heads erased. (Warden, 1772.)

S. S. in oval, with crown, and two small stars beneath it.

Richard Norfolk in London; arms, a lion passant and three fleurs-de-lys. (Warden, 1775; Master, 1776.)

John Williams; arms, a stag's head couped, with a crown between the horns.

John Benson; arms, a double-headed eagle, with a crown in chief.

L. Y. in. b. oval; a griffin's head couped, with a crown over.

Henry Joseph; a scallop-shell.

R. C. in b. c.; a lamb with a crook.

George Holmes; arms, a rose and four fleurs-de-lys.

J. Perry; b. p. a female figure, seated. (Warden, 1773.)

John ——; a lion passant and a sun in chief.

W. P. in b. c., with a crescent in centre and six stars.

Edward Toms; a wheatsheaf and a plough. (Warden, 1781; Master, 1783.)

Aquila Dackombe; device, a bee or fly. (Master in 1818.)

—— Farmer in b. o.; a bundle of rods tied.

I. S. in b. o.; device illegible (? a hippocampus or sea-horse).

W. T. in b. o.; a crescent.

I. G. in p. o.; a tree.

John Hayton; a blazing star with an earl's coronet above.

John Bromfield; the sun, the moon and seven stars.

William Howard; a mounted soldier with drawn sword between the letters D.C. (probably for the Duke of Cumberland).

George Bacon; crest, on a torse, a boar.

Jonathan Leach; a shield of arms: quarterly, (1) a leopard's head, (2) a sprig of laurel, (3) a lamb and flag, (4) illegible; over all a cross.

John Wynn b. p.; arms, a lion rampant.

Richard Pitts; a running hare. (Richard Pitt was Warden in 1780; Master, 1781.)

John Mart . . .; a saltire and four castles, and a compass point on the saltire.

Richard Newman; b. p. a mitre.

Joseph White; a man standing in a crescent.

John Townsend; a lamb and a flying bird above.

Burford and Green; arms, a cross with two crosslets fitchy in chief, for Burford, impaling three stags tripping, for Green.

Richard Poole; a rose with spray of leaves on either side, and three fleurs-de-lys above.

William Harrison; an acorn on a stalk with two leaves, one pointing downwards; above the acorn an uncertain object.

James Lethard; a hand holding a mallet.

Wm. Glover and — Annison; arms of Oxford City impaling those of Oxford University.

John Wingod; a square and compasses. (Warden, 1757, 1766; Master, 1767.)

John Sellon; a unicorn supporting a classical headpiece.

I. M. in a small, plain, oblong punch, with domed top, with a rose, a small female bust, and two stars and a rose above.

William Bampton; b. p. a rose and a blazing star. (Warden, 1774, 1783; Master, 1785.)

Daniel Lawson; crest, on a torse two arms issuing from a cloud and holding a sun in splendour.

George Beeston; a blazing star and an earl's coronet (the same touch as that of John Hayton on p. 226).

Isaac Read; a man fishing.

Matthew Tonkin; a miner (?) at work.

Daniel Lawson, repeated.

Henry Appleton; arms, a fess engrailed, and three apples slipped in the stalks.

John Ubly; a stag tripping.

William Phipps; arms, a trefoil and an orb of eight mullets.

James Bullock; crest, a beehive surmounted by a bee.

— Annison; almost the same as Wm. Glover and Annison above, *i.e.*, the arms of Oxford City impaling those of Oxford University.

Rowland Smith; a rose and an acorn slipped in the stalks.

William Phillips; a hand holding a clove-pink or gilly-flower.

Charles Maxey; a pelican vulning herself and standing on a globe.

Bourchier Cleeve; b. p. a hand holding a slipped rose.

The next touch consists of an oval beaded band, with a Latin motto, haud ullis labentia ventis, and the name Irving in the exergue, badly punched; and crest, an arm embowed, with the hand grasping a spray of holly.

Richard Peake in b. o.; a lion's head erased.

William White; b. p. on a torse a demi-stag.

Robert Randall; three fleurs-de-lys.

James Boost; device, a crescent and six stars.

John Walker in p. oval; a man crowned, walking.

Matthew Underwood, 1752; a lion and a lamb.

Richard Alderwick; a falconer or man hawking.

Wm. Healey; arms, a chevron cotised indented and three lions, with three crosses paty on the chevron; crest, a demi-lion holding a cross paty.

James Fontaine; an elephant.

R^D^ Pawson; a rose spray with a ducal coronet over.

John Edwards; a horse.

John Fasson; a horseshoe.

John Home; arms, a lion rampant, impaling party per band sinister six martlets.

Wm. Harris; crest, on a torse, a demi-griffin with expanded wings.

Benj: Townsend; arms, fretty and a cross, and five mullets on the cross.

James Steevens; a Britannia, seated, 1754.

Thomas La[ngfo]rd; a vase of flowers.

Wm. de Jersey; arms, party per fess azure and gules, an eagle displayed. (Warden, 1772; Master, 1773.)

John White; b. p. a man holding a cup, standing in a crescent.

I. R. in b. c., with griffin's head erased, and a crown and two stars above.

Thomas Buttery; a bee and a rose above it.

Henry Bowley (or Bowles); b. p. a man bowling.

Thomas Hawkins; in circle, a hawk perched upon a wool-sack.

George Gre[en]; a griffin standing on a ragged staff (?).

William F[asson]; a rose within a horseshoe. (Warden, 1776, 1785; Master, 1787.)

Thomas Munday; bust of a man in a wig (1767).

Benjamin Bacon; arms, gules and on a chief two mullets; crest, a boar.

Robert Scatchard; arms, a lion rampant and in chief three mullets (1761); crest, a demi-lion.

Charles Claridge; an outstretched hand with a knife on the open palm (1758).

Joseph Spackman; a ducal coronet between a fleur-de-lys and two crosses paty above; a cross paty and two crossed palm-branches below.

James Puleston; a lion's paw erased, grasping a battle-axe.

W. H. in b. c.; two hands interlocked, with a crown above and 1709 below.

John Vaughan; b. p. a holy lamb and a flag.

Joseph Jefferys; a rose with two fleurs-de-lys above.

W. F. in shaped and indented oblong punch; crest, a lion rampant with a crescent between the legs.

Mary Willey; a rose and four fleurs-de-lys.

T. S. in s. b. c., with two hearts, point to point.

Tho. Jones; in an oval, a gun on a carriage and five mullets.

BROWNE AND SW[ANSON] } device in both a talbot.
THOMAS SWANSON }

W. M. E. C. (?) in square punch, with corners cut off; a rose and a thistle on one stem (a badge of Queen Anne).

WILLIAM WIGHTMAN; in an inner circle a cross crosslet between two roses and two stags' heads.

BENNETT AND CHAPMAN; arms, three demi-lions and a roundel; impaling party per chevron, a crescent and two leopards' heads.

JOHN KING; a female figure of Hope, draped, with an anchor.

RALPH WHARRAM; arms, a fess between a goat's head couped and three scallop-shells in base.

THOMAS GREENWOOD; device, a still, with a worm attached, and a sun.

WILLIAM BENNETT; arms, three demi-lions and a roundel.

ROBERT AND THOS. PORTEUS; an ostrich. (Rob. Porteus was Warden in 1778, 1790.)

N. M. in b. c., 1782; a worm, crowned. (? Nathaniel Meakin: Warden, 1759, 1767; Master, 1768.)

R. E. in b. c.; a nude man with a long scroll (? Hercules and a snake).

ROBERT BROWN, JOHN BROWN, JOHN —WIS in the exergue of a large circle; device, an angel holding a palm-branch in one hand, the other leaning upon a worm.

JAMES FI[ENN]ES; a tun and a hammer.

THOMAS THOMPSON; in the centre a sun in splendour, upon the clouds between the two scrolls, with a thistle on one side, a crown on the other.

THOMAS SMITH; a set of masonic emblems between two masonic pillars.

THOMAS GIFFIN; b. p. a dagger piercing a heart and ensigned with a ducal coronet between six mullets. (Warden, 1751; Master, 1753 and 1757.)

CLARK AND GREENING; a flower (?a teazle) displayed, surmounted by a star.

THOMAS SWANSON; the Golden Fleece between four rings and a fleur-de-lys. (Warden, 1777.)

JOHN PERRY; arms, gules a bend cotised ermine and three leopards on the bend. (Warden, 1773.)

JOHN ALDERSON; a demi-lion looking back issuant from a mural crown. (Warden, 1782.)

CHARLES SMITH; a mailed fist with sword; a lion sejant and two horseshoes. (Warden, 1789.)

J. TOWNSEND AND R. REYNOLDS; a lamb and a dove with olive-branch. (J. Townsend, Warden, 1769, 1782; Master, 1784.)

WILLIAM SNAPE; b. p. a horse.

W. FARMER in b. c., with two muskets in saltire and a powder-flask.

A. JENNER in plain rectangle.

THOMAS SMITH; a cock treading a hen.

STEPHEN KENT HAGGER; a hand with hammer and a barrel. (Repeated.)

PITT AND FLOYD; a running hare. (R. Pitt was Warden, 1780; Master, 1781. John Floyd, Warden, 1787.)

R. P. HODGE in p. oval, with a clock-face. (Robert Piercy Hodge was Warden in 1796 and 1801; Master in 1802.)

EDWARD SIDBY in b. o., with large hour-glass.

H. WOOD in b. c.; two dogs combatant.

SAMUEL LAW in b. c.; a dove with olive-branch. (This punch is repeated.)

JOHN HUDSON; arms, quarterly per chevron embattled, gold and vert, and three martlets.

JOSEPH MONK; crest, a griffin.

JOHN GURNELL, London; a camel with a star.

JOHN HINDE; a female figure of Hope, with an anchor in her left hand. (Warden, 1790, 1791, 1795; Master, 1796.)

THOMAS DODSON, 1775; a ship in full sail.

W. PHILLIPS in p. oval; a cock crowing.

WILLIAM GOOCH; a fox running; a star and a crescent above. (This punch is repeated thrice, the first two being badly struck.)

JOSEPH MONK (repeated). See above.

RICHARD YATES; a griffin's head erased, with a mar-

quis' coronet above; at each side between the scrolls, a star.

Jno. Appleton in a large plain oval, with a still and a worm. (Warden, 1799; Master, 1800.)

Samuel Higley; arms, a cross engrailed, and a crescent on the cross; also a crescent in the quarter for difference; crest, an eagle with two heads. (Repeated.)

William Barnes; a standing figure of Queen (Anne?), with orb and sceptre.

Richard Alderwick; a man hawking. See above.

(W. Barnes repeated.)

C. Swift, on a square punch with regular indentations, with a spray of a thistle and a rose on one stem (the badge of Queen Anne. (C. Swift repeated.)

Nathaniel Barber (repeated twice), with the arms of John Home (p. 228).

Sam. Salter Bowler; a running greyhound; above, a star.

Samuel Priddle; in the centre in b. o. a flower displayed and a crescent.

Robert Jupe; a rose and a fleur-de-lys.

William Wright in exergue of a plain shield-shaped punch; on inner shield, a griffin's head issuing from a crown. (Repeated.)

Robt. Lupton; crest, a griffin's head erased, on a torse.

Pitt and Dadley; a running hare. *Id.* (repeated). (E. Dadley was Warden, 1799, 1803; and Master, 1804.)

R. Lupton repeated.

William Millin; two hearts point to point. (*Vide* T. S. on p. 229.)

Josh. and Jas. Spackman; the same device as Joseph Spackman on p. 229. (James S. was Warden, 1797.)

Robert Waller; a woman in a gown standing. (This is repeated.)

Joseph Hosier in exergue of oval; within, a unicorn rampant.

Thomas Fasson (repeated); a horseshoe encircling a

heart; above, a dagger (a variant of the punches of John and William Fasson on pp. 228, 229). (Warden, 1802; Master, 1803.)

Richard Bache; b. p., an angel, with a palm branch in the left hand; also a scroll in the right hand.

Charles Loader; in a large shield-shaped punch, a swan swimming.

Robert Jackson; b. p. three beehives and eleven stars. (Warden, 1795, 1800; Master, 1801.)

Joseph Spackman and Co.; device as before.

Robert Knight; in central oval, a compass and an eight-pointed star.

Henry and Richard Joseph; device, a large scallop-shell. (Richard Joseph was Warden, 1804; Master, 1805, 1806.) Same repeated.

Edward Lockwood; a wheatsheaf and a dove. (Warden, 1793, 1797; Master, 1798.)

Philip White; in a b. c. a lion rampant between two stars.

W. H. King, 1786; a badger (?).

Richard Hagshaw; same arms as Benjn. Townsend on p. 229.

Robert Barnett; a rose and a fleur-de-lys. (Repeated.)

Wadsworth; a rose-spray, with coronet over.

Peter Le Veux in attenuated oval; a man on a racehorse. (Repeated.)

C. Jones; b. p. a holy lamb with flag. (Repeated.)

John Brown; a Pegasus volant, a star above. (Repeated.)

Edward Seawell; in large circle, a dove (?).

R. M. in small plain oblong. (Repeated below.)

Carpenter and Hamberers; a pair of compasses and a globe.

Wood and Hill; two sheep in a shield without border. (Repeated.)

This is the end of the third touch-plate.

Touch-plate IV[1]

I. T. in s. b. c., with a pear and '04.

S. P. in b. c., with heart with flowers issuing from it.

E. C. in small stamp, with a flying bird.

R. R. in b. c., with fox running off with a goose.

—— ——; a man grasping a boy by his hair and about to punish him.

John Sav ol(?); crest, a unicorn; a star on the field.

Robert ——; a rose and a crown.

T. F. in s. b. c.; two naked boys (? the sign Gemini) holding up a sun between them, and date 1705.

—— Gwilt; punch illegible, as a hole has been made here to suspend the touch-plate. (L., 1709.)

Jonathan Cotton. A bird between two flowers (?). (Warden, 1734; Master, 1736.)

Robert Pilkington; a man carrying another on his back (Aeneas and Anchises).

—— Baskerville; a lion rampant on a crescent. (A John Baskerville became a liveryman in 1695.)

Here follows a small shaped punch with a bird.

E. N. in s. b. c.; a figure of a man (? a pikeman and his dog).

W. B. in s. b. c., with '75; crest: an eagle's head, couped, with crescent over its head.

Guy, Earle of Warwick. Guy of Warwick as an armed figure holding the dragon's head between initials T W (?).

I. S., with a pear (?) and a heart, 1706.

Thomas Smith; a seated figure, apparently with a mitre.

Thomas Arnott; (? the flower of a leek).

W. S., with a small book, crowned, 1706.

James Paxton; a sun and a marigold.

Everard Gillam; a dagger or short sword.

I. P., with a bear and a ragged staff.

Benjamin F[ost]er; arms, a chevron ermine and three plums.

[1] Many of the dates on this touch-plate are earlier than many of those on Touch-plate III.

James G——; arms, barry ermine and a lion rampant.

Richard Hislopp; two sheep with long tails.

H. H. in b. c.; a crown and tun, 1707.

Robert Morse; a lion passant and crown above.

William Townsend; a Neptune (Father Thames?) with a trident.

W. F. in top of shaped punch, with star; below, a phoenix surrounded by flames; below, three fleurs-de-lys.

Robert Crossfeild in large circular punch; in centre a clock-face; within the rim of the figures of the hours a crescent, a sun, and 1707.

Timotheus Richards (*fecit* in interior scroll); device, a rose with Prince of Wales' plumes.

Richard King in b. o.; a horse's head. (Warden, 1745; Master, 1746.)

Richard Collier; arms, three cocks. (Warden, 1742.)

T. B., with a crescent within a plain moulded ring.

Abraham Wiggins; a sword-hilt (?) and a crown.

John [Benn]ett; a lion rampant and a pierced mullet.

Phillip Rogers; a saltire with a stag above; at each side a rose.

Thomas Sheppard; a shepherd, with sheep, piping to a shepherdess.

Richard Wilks; a lion rampant, leaning against a tree.

W. K. in s. b. c.; a star in centre with a fleur-de-lys above, a crescent below; in the other spaces two roundels, two smaller stars.

Edward Quick; two heads (William and Mary).

Henry Sew[dley]; a heart pierced by two arrows, crossed; below, an eagle with two heads. (Warden, 1736; Master, 1738.)

I. P. in b. c.; two matchlocks crossed with a spiral roll or match.

John Harris; crest, a dog, seated.

Hellary Perchard; an anchor encircled with a G. and 1709. (A Hellier P. was Warden in 1738 and Master in 1740.)

Spackman and Grant; a fleur-de-lys, with a cross paty

on either side of it; below, a crown, with a cross paty under it. (A James Spackman was Warden in 1732 and Master in 1742; E. Grant was Warden in 1731, 1740, and Master in 1741.)

W. H. in b. c.; two hands clasped with a crown above, 1709.

Philip Stevens; a grasshopper; above, two keys cross-wise, with a roundel between them.

Robert Cudley; a rose with an acorn-spray above it.

R. I. in shaped punch; a small boat in full sail.

Richard Gale (or Yale); device, a pump, or a beacon, or possibly a still.

William Cox; crest, a goat's head couped, transfixed with a spear, a crown and a tent behind.

J. S. in b. oval; ? an Eleanor Cross, or that in Cheapside, 1710.

Thomas Peisley; arms, a lion rampant, with two tails, with a mullet. (*Vide* p. 238; this is a large stamp.)

Thomas Gogwin (?Goodwin); crest, a demi-griffin.

Arthur Engley; two crescents, with a ducal coronet above them.

Henry Feildar; a spray of rose-tree, with a sun shining thereon, between two pillars, each surmounted by a —— (?)

J. Lindsey; a female figure, seated, with a lance and holding the rose and the thistle;[1] by her side the arms of the City of London, and a coronet over.

Tim. Fly; device, a fly. (Warden, 1737; Master, 1739.)

George Smith; a bust of Queen Anne, facing left.

Richard Grunwin; a portrait, full face. (Warden, 1729.)

Peter Redknap; a child bearing two keys.

John Walmsley; a heart, crowned.

F. I.; a rose, 1713.

Thomas Giffin; a crown, a heart and a hammer, and six stars.

Ric. Drinkwater; a bird on a nest; below, a snake tied in a knot, and a lion passant.

[1] The rose and the thistle were the badge of Queen Anne, and they occur on many of the touches.

W. Beaumont; a lion on a cap of estate.

J. Laffar; Atlas, supporting the world, between two mullets.

William Newham; b. p. a rose and a thistle on the same stem. (Warden, 1745.)

G. V. in plain oval; a female, nude, skipping, and date 1712.

John Osborn in large punch; a crown; and below, rose and thistle on same stem; at the bottom *Semper Eadem.*

Samuel Knight; b. p. an arm holding a dart between two maces.

John Woodeson; a wood with the sun shining upon it.

Law[rence] Dyer; three anchors. (Warden, 1726 and 1728.)

Thomas Wheeler; Queen Anne with sceptre and orb, standing up.

John Peter (Pater), 1714; three horseshoes (p. l.).

I. E. in b. c.; a hand with a heart in it, 1714.

I. W. in b. c., 1715; a man walking (? a Walker).

In a large plain oval punch, no rim, a lion's head, issuing from a marquis' coronet.

John Tidmarsh; a ship in full sail. (Warden, 1739, 1750; Master, 1752.)

Tho[mas] Ca[rtwright]; crest, a bird. (Warden, 1742; Master, 1743.)

John Hea[th] in b. c.; a crescent and two mullets.

Richard Partridge; three partridges, and a large mitre above.

Thomas Webb; two swords crosswise, with a crown and three fleurs-de-lys in the under spaces.

Thomas Matthews; a mermaid, with seven roundels.

I. S. in p. c.; a stork with wings displayed, 1726.

William Meadows. This touch resembles that of Richard Gale.

N. C.; in plain stamp a saltire between fruit and flowers, and N. C.

William Miles; b. p. a wheatsheaf and a sun.

THOMAS CLARIDGE; a griffin's head, erased, and two frets.

I. A. in a small shaped punch, with a bunch of grapes and two mullets.

THOMAS PEISLEY; a shield with a right hand bearing a dagger.

JOHN ROLT; a dolphin; above, crest: a griffin's head, couped.

JO. GRAYS[ON] } a pelican in her piety.
JA. KING }

In plain oval a griffin's head couped, with a snake in its mouth.

JOHN LANGFORD; hand with hammer and a barrel (?). (Warden, 1755; Master, 1757.)

SETH JONES; the Archangel Michael with scales.

FRANCIS WHITTLE; a dove with an olive-spray; below, an olive-tree.

THOMAS LEA[PIDG]E; a rose and a leaved thistle above it.

ABRAHAM FORD; b. p. a sun in splendour shining on a wheatsheaf. (Cf. W. ii. 185, and punch of J. Blenman, p. 241).

JOHN CARPENTER; with globe and compasses.

W. W. in small lozenge, 1721.

I. M. in shaped punch, with a sheep and 171—(?).

JOHN OSBORNE; a lion rampant, holding a rose or other flower.

JONATHAN BONKIN; a shepherd on foot with a crook and a dog; in his left hand a rose.

RICHARD KING; a demi-ostrich with outspread wings and horseshoe in its beak. (Warden, 1745; Master, 1746.)

PEN^{RY} SPRING; a fountain with three basins; on the top a sun.

THOMAS LEACH; arms of London, with two swords.

ARTHUR SMALMAN; two nude figures holding up a crown.

JOHN LANGLEY; a fleur-de-lys and two roundels, with a crown above.

W. N. in oval, with fleur-de-lys and a sun in splendour.

BENJAMIN ——ERS; a cock, and a small crown above.

COLLYER in oblong label, above which is a globe on a stand. (Somewhat similar to that of J. Watts on p. 241.)

JOHN TRAPP; a dove with olive-branch.

JOSEPH WATSON in b. o.; a soldier (? a grenadier), with a musket.

W. CLARKE; an artichoke with a mullet.

THOMAS RHODES; b. p. a sun in splendour shining on a dove with olive-branch. (Warden, 1746.)

JONATHAN BRODHURST; b. p. a stag and a bell.

JOHN KENT; a lion holding up a crown.

RICHARD WRIGHT; a peacock in his pride.

ROBERT POLE; a cock, pecking at a wheatsheaf.

I. W., each with a mullet above; a wheatsheaf and a rose.

T. H., with a lamp, in a plain circle.

EDWARD LAWRENCE; b. p. S. Lawrence with his gridiron, and a sun.

I. E. in shaped punch; a crown and pear (?).

WHITE AND BERNARD; an eagle, issuing from a rose.

GEORGE [TAYLO]R; with a figure of Neptune.

SAMUEL ELLIS; with golden fleece. The rim contains two panels of very florid ornament. (Warden, 1737, 1747; Master, 1748.) *Vide* p. 247.

JOHN HEATH in moulded oval; three cocks and six mullets.

JOHN PANDAL; a leopard's head.

ROBERT WASS; b. p. a crown, a woolsack, a rose.

LUKE JOHNSON; a crowned arrow, point downwards, between a 2 and a 3 (*i.e.*, 1723), between two wings.

ALEXANDER LANCASTER; a swan with collar and chain.

I. E. in b. c., with a head, wreathed.

I. C., with a wheel, crowned, 1723 (p. l.).

JOSEPH PRATT; Time, with scythe and hour-glass.

T. HUX. in a guilloche border; a fleur-de-lys within a crescent.

EDWARD NASH; three fleurs-de-lys.

CATESBY CHAPMAN; a ship in full sail.

THOMAS STEVENS; a dexter hand holding a small globe, also a star or sun.

GEORGE TAYLOR; Neptune, with a trident. (Also struck badly, above, p. 239).

EDWARD UBLY; a stag trippant.

HENRY JACKSON; b. p. three beehives, with six bees flying about.

T. W. in small shaped punch, with crown; rest illegible; below it vertically an oblong punch, LONDON, with beaded edge.

JOHN NORGROVE; a cock pecking at a wheatsheaf. (Similar to Robert Pole, p. 239.)

RICHARD COX; a cock perching on a helmet.

R. S. in s. c., and a worm from a still.

JOHN COLE; a bull (p. l.).

P. M. in s. b. c., with scallop-shell.

SIMON PATTINSON; three crowns.

THOMAS BACON FECIT; a boar or "bacon."

JOHN PAXTON; sun shining on a marigold.

EDWARD MEREFIELD; a hand, sleeved, holding a marigold or daisy.

RICHARD LEGGATT; a horse walking.

THO. TRIBBLEWELL; David slaying Goliath.

JO. KIRKE; a bonnet with strings and an upright feather in front.

JOSEPH WINGOD; b. p. a beadle leading away an offending child. (Warden, 1766; Master, 1767.)

HENRY ELWICK; a fountain between two dolphins, all spouting water.

SAMUEL MILES; b. p. a sun in splendour and a wheatsheaf.

THOMAS AMES; a squirrel sejant (p. l.).

H. ELWICK repeated.

WILLIAM ELLIS; b. p. a lion rampant bearing a heart in its paws.

JOHN SIAW (?); a fleur-de-lys with crown above, between two roundels.

JAMES MATTHEWS; crest, two arms holding up a plate.

JAMES BISHOP; a bishop's bust between two crossed crosiers and a mitre.

RICHARD COLE; two hands interlocked, with a crown above.

R. M. in oval; a large flower (daisy), with a sun and six roundels (p. l.).

—— Bradstreet; the star of the Order of the Garter. (? Edward Bradstreet, W. ii. 186.)

Mark Cripps; b. p. a sun shining through a cloud on a wheatsheaf. (Warden, 1751, 1760; Master, 1762.)

Henry Smith; a rose ensigned by a mitre.

I. Smith; a rose (p. l. c.)

John Payne; b. p. a crescent or moon and seven stars.

John Hathaway; a crown, with two sceptres through the crown.

Alex. Cleeve; a hand grasping a spray of roses. (Warden, 1705, 1715; Master, 1720, 1727.)

John Cater, London; b. p. a lion issuing from a crescent.

John Rogers; a sun in splendour.

Thomas Gosling; b. p. a gosling.

I. P.; Time, with scythe and hour-glass; above, a crown.

Below these there is a half-line of these punches:

Samuel Smith; b. p. a holy lamb and flag.

John Blenman; a sun in splendour shining on a wheatsheaf. (W. ii. 185.)

Jo[seph] Carter; a carter with his cart; (17)26.

Here follows a small punch, very indistinct.

Thomas Piggott; device, a Roman.

Jn° Watts in oblong punch; upon it a globe, mounted in a stand. (Somewhat similar to the stamp of — Collyer on p. 239. There was a John Watts, Warden, 1758; Master, 1760; and another, Warden, 1779; Master, 1780.)

Th[omas] S[an]dell; crest, a mitre.

Thomas Phillips; a cock perched on a rose.

Ang. Tidmarsh; a ducal coronet.

Joseph Donne; a hand holding a seal between the finger and the thumb (p. l. c.).

R. B. in s. shield, with a flower and a wheel.

T. K. in oblong punch; a heart surmounted by a rose, with two stars; 1709 or 1799.

J. Donne repeated but defaced.

Smith and Leapidge in square punch; b. p. a dog sitting up and plucking at a wheatsheaf. (A Samuel Smith, whose punch is given on p. 241, was Warden in 1753, with John Leapidge. The latter was Warden in 1762, and Master in 1763.)

Joseph Sherwin; same device as Thomas Piggott, p. 241.

Joseph Claridge; a hand grasping a dove with olive-branch.

Daniel ——ng; a lion rampant on a dolphin.

W. H. in plain circle; a Bacchus astride a barrel.

Samuel Cooke; a lion rampant holding a crown in its paws.

Benjamin Browne; arms, a two-headed eagle, and above the crest, a hand grasping a bird's leg.

William Norwood; a hammer, crowned, between two fleurs-de-lys.

William Rowell; arms, two chevrons engrailed, and on each three roundels.

William ——ns; a hand, with a tulip.

Below this, Richard Bradstreet; two naked figures supporting a crown.

John Williams in a b. o., with a crescent; in a border, the signs of the Zodiac.

George ——rd; a hand holding a seal.

Joseph Pedder; a cock standing over two crossed keys.

J[ohn] Jones, London; an angel. (Warden, 1735, 1744; Master, 1745. Another J. Jones was Warden, 1756; Master, 1758.)

Andrew Rudsey; b. p. a dove with olive-branch perched on a wheatsheaf.

Cooke and Freeman; no device, merely two scrolls.

Samuel Sp[ateman]; a sun, with a wheatsheaf and a cock below.

I. F. in b. o., with a bit within a horseshoe.

W. Sandys; a griffin segreant.

Jo. Jordan; a dove perched on a snake.

William ——; device, a tankard or possibly a lantern.

Simon Halford; crest, a griffin.

Richard W[oo]dman; Hercules and his club.

Giles Cleeve; b. p. three griffins' heads erased.

John de [Jersey]; three leopards.

Richard Hands; a shepherd with a crook and a dog.

Thomas Barnes; a unicorn rampant, with collar and chain.

E. D.; in plain oval, a mermaid with comb and mirror.

Richard [Br]own 173[1]; a lion sejant affronté, with one paw on a lamb.

I. C. in b. c., with a worm.

Alexander Hamilton; St. Andrew, holding a cross; at the sides a thistle and a rose.

James Smith, a rose and crown.

William Phillips; a hand holding a gillyflower.

W. C. in square punch with corners cut off, with rose and thistle on one stem.

TD. NM. 1732.; a snake coiled like the worm of a still, crowned.

William Cook; a wyvern above an estoile or a star of eight points within a crescent.

Samuel Guy, London; device, a martial figure (Guy of Warwick, as on p. 234).

William ——; a fox.

Ben Foster, London; arms, a chevron engrailed ermine and three pheons, with a label of three points.

Edw. Yorke; on a cross, five lions rampant.

W. S., an earl's coronet; above, a mullet within a crescent.

This is the end of the fourth touch-plate.

Touch-plate V

On this plate all the touches are repeated, with the exception of that bearing I. F. There are twenty-one touches, from 1798 to 1824.

William Bathus; a heart, with a rose above it.

Paul Fisher; a fisher in a boat.

William Nettlefold, London, 1799; a dove with olive-branch, perched on a worm of a still.

THOMAS PHILLIPS; a hand bearing a gillyflower (1800 is scratched on the plate). (Warden 1809, 1810, 1816; Master, 1817.)

I. F. in plain ringed oval with two clasped hands.

S. T. in oval, with sun.

W. GROOME; a draw-knife, with a hammer and a compass.

WILLIAM GIBBS; a soldier.

ROGER MOSER; b. p. three beehives, nine bees flying.

WILLIAM WALKER; a woolsack.

[SAMUEL] COCKS, LONDON; device, two cocks facing one another. (L., 1819.)

JOS[H] HENRY GODFREY; a tea-tray with a tea service displayed.

R. STANTON, 37 Blackman St. Boro; a banner of the royal arms of England.

ASHLEY, Minories; Britannia, with ship in the offing.

GEORGE ALDERSON; crest, a lion looking back and holding something issuing from a battlemented crown.

RICHARD MISTER, Bermondsey St.; device, a square and compasses, with 86 in the central space. (Warden, 1820, 1825; Master, 1827.)

W. M. in oval; a dove with olive-branch, likewise a bee or fly.

MAW in small oval; a camel couchant.

W. C. SWIFT; in square punch, a rose and thistle on the same stalk.

J. STANTON, Shoe Lane; a scallop-shell.

T. J. T. ASHLEY, LONDON; a beehive and a tree. (Date scratched in plate, 1824.)

APPENDIX B

MISCELLANEOUS MARKS, INCLUDING SOME HALL-MARKS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

The letters in brackets denote the name of the owner or the Curator of the specimen on which the marks were found.[1] Names of places in parentheses indicate the place where the specimen was seen.

A. M. in p. c. on either side of a bell; 1679 on plate. Hall-marks: 1, leopard; 2, fleur-de-lys; 3, rose, with six pellets; 4, A. M. (M.)

A. R. in b. c.; a dexter hand holding a baton; 1646. (M.)

W. BARTLETT; for badge, the arms of the Pewterer's Company with motto, IN GOD IS ALL MY TRUST; and another stamp of two scrolls, BARTLETT NOT IN LONDON. Hall-marks: 1, lion; 2, l. h.; 3, a man to waist only with a trident; 4, W. B.

JOHN BATCHELER (*temp.* Charles I.). Hall-marks: 1, JB with a mullet below; 2, crowned rose; 3, l. h.; 4, l. rampant. (H. C. S.)

B. N. C. (London.) 1, B. N. C.; 2, two hands clasped; 3, l. h.; 4, l. r. (B.)

EDWARD BOX; two (griffins'?) heads erased, with a lion passant; also | NO BETTER IN LONDON. | Found on a plate dated 1745. (H. M.)

BRICK AND VILLARS, LONDON; a cygnet issuant from a ducal crown. Hall-marks: 1, a chevron, wavy, between three lions'(?) heads, erased; 2, a griffin's head, erased; 3, Brit.; 4, B. and V. Sometimes three lions' heads, erased, is the only mark (1747). (L. D.)

[1] J. H. B., Mr. Bastard; W. H. C., Mr. W. H. Clarkson; C. L., Colonel Croft Lyons; H. C. S., Mr. H. Clifford Smith; S. K. M., V. and A. Museum; L. D., Mr. Langton Dennis; H. M., the writer; M., Mr. H. P. Mitchell; B., Mr. Hugh Bryan; W., Mr. C. Welch; l. = lion: l. h. = leopard's head.

Allen Bright (London); device, a fleur-de-lys. Another mark, a rose on a stem, crowned. (Stockton, Northampton.) This maker's name is often wrongly given as Ellen Bright.

Burford and Green. Hall-marks: 1, rose; 2, I. C.; 3, ——; 4, I. C.

Robert Bush; oblong stamp, size of postage stamp; figure of centaur (?).

Thomas Chamberlain in oval; Prince of Wales' feathers. His name is found on some of the pewter at Queen's College, Oxford, which was made by Samuel Ellis.

Will[m] [Cl]othyer; device, a crowned rose. Hall-marks: lion rampant (four times). (H.M.)

Nehemiah Cloudsley; in two labels in a plain circle, a horse, courant, on a staff. Hall-marks: 1, l. h.; 2, N. C.; 3 and 4, as 1, 2. (M.)

William Cook[e]; device, a lion rampant with a key in its front paws. (H. M.)

Samuel Cocks; two cocks affronté. (L., 1819.) Hall-marks: 1, lion; 2, l. h.; 3, buckle; 4, S. C.

Ralph Cox, with rose and crown with a knot about it and 1656. (W.)

Abraham Crowling. (?) He seems to have been a local maker who got his wares from I. Hardman, A. C. being found with I. H. His mark, A. C. with a star with a border of two concentric circles, is found with Prince of Wales' feathers thrice repeated.

William Curtis, 1573-4; "Rose and Crown, with sonne beames." (W. i. 278.)

John Duncomb (of Birmingham) was refused admission to the freedom of the Company by redemption. His wares bear two stamps in large ovals: 1, the Duncombe arms; 2, a large crowned rose. Hall-marks: 1, Duncombe arms; 2, horse's jamb; 3, (?); 4, I. D. One of his stamps was a large oval with legend, "John Duncomb Freeman of London."

S. Duncomb or Duncumb on a dish, 13 inches (Windermere): 1, coat of arms on shield and three talbots' heads, erased, per chevron engrailed, with S. Duncomb above; 2, primrose

between sprays of foliage; between two stamps, London in scroll. On a 9½ inch dish (*id.*): horse's jamb in shaped shield rising out of a ducal crown: 1, leopard's head; 2, jamb in shield; 3, talbot's head, erased; 4, S. D.

I. DYER. Hall-marks: 1, lion passant; 2, three pheons; 3, l. h., crowned; 4, I. D. (H. M.)

L. DYER. Hall-marks: 1, l p.; 2,——; 3, three fleurs-de-lys; 4, L. D. (S. K. M., 504—1898.) (M.)

SAMUEL ELLIS (of London); other marks, four small shields: 1, golden fleece; 2, lion's head, erased; 3, Britannia; 4, S. E., with two pellets below. (Northborough and Bainton, Northampton.) (H. M.)

—— EVANS, of Exeter; two touches: 1, in a p. c. a fleur-de-lys, above it EVANS, below p. l. c.; 2, in a p. c. a Tudor rose, above it EXON: below p. l. c. Hall-marks, none.

TIM[OTHY] FLY. 1, ——; 2, leop. head; 3, lion pass.; 4, T. F. A cock (with crown near, but not on its head) between two fluted pillars. (B.)

R. GOUDGE. RG with a knot about it. (W.)

THOMAS GRAME; Prince of Wales' plume. (Lavercourt, Carlisle.)

——— GRAHAM (of London. Four marks, one a leopard's head, crowned. (Bewcastle, Carlisle.)

T. O. GRAVES over a bird.

EDWARD GREGORY. Hall-marks: 1, E. G.; 2, lion; 3, l. h.; 4, B. (B.)

—— —— Hall-marks found on a paten: 1, London in scroll; 2, long antlered stag; 3, crown above crossed staves.

IOHN HARDMAN; Prince of Wales' plume three times repeated. Hall-marks: 1, lion; 2, leopard's head; 3, cock; 4, I. H.

H. G. in shield, with double fleur-de-lys (S. K. M., 147—1902). (M.)

H. I. in shaped shield, with crescent, mullet and trefoil slipped. A lad with two hammers in saltire. (S. K. M., 808—1902.) (M.)

J. HITCHMAN. Hall-marks: 1, I. H.; 2, anchor; 3, buckle; 4, l. h. (W. H. C.)

Thomas Hodgkin; an eagle displayed. (Pilton.)

William Hogg; b. p. a swan. On other stamps, Newcastle and Superfine hard metal.

William Hogg; b. p. a. swan with William above, and Hogg below. A Newcastle maker. A swan is also found on London pewter.

—— Hollas; man standing before a machine. Hall-marks: 1, l. ramp.; 2, eagle displayed; 3, anchor; 4, (?).

George Holmes on two labels; below, a Catherine wheel, with four fleurs-de-lys (found on a hot-water plate). (M.)

Hoskyn (Barnstaple). Found with Barnstaple arms. (L. D.)

H. P. 1, crossed staves, crowned; 2, H. P.; 3, In London; 4, rose (?). A phoenix in shaped shield, London beneath, also on four small shields. Three heads erased, griffin's head erased, a sun in glory.

H. P. 1707. Hall-marks: 1, H. P.; 2, lion sejant, guardant; 3, buckle; 4, three fleurs-de-lys. (H. C. S.)

I. B. in s. c., with man on horseback; 1661. (S. K. M.)

I D S X in circle, with small star of six points above and below the letters. On a measure or flagon. Same mark on another piece marked G R, crowned. (C. L.)

I. G.; angel, with sword in right hand; 1765. (L. D.)

I. . . . K. . . . Hall-marks: 1, I. K.; 2, anchor; 3, crown; 4, lion rampant.

I. M. 1662, with an anchor between the two middle figures. (L. D.)

Ion . . . in oval, with a spread eagle, a crescent, a flower and a bird (? duck). Also marks of crowned X, crowned rose with palm-branches. Found on an English paten. Early eighteenth century. (C. L.)

Nicholas Jardeine, 1573-4; a crowned bell. (W. i. 278.) This Nicholas Jarden had had great trouble with the Company in 1573-4 (*vide* Welch, i. 278). In 1577 he petitioned Queen Elizabeth for a monopoly for twenty-one years of making "all suche sortes of potts throughout your Ma^{ts} Realme as shall be used for retayle of Wyne Ale and Byre or all other potts whereby anything is soulde or retayled by measure." He showed the

benefit that would arise by his sole manufacture of such pots, and he begged a grant of a stamp with the rose and crown to mark them, offering £6 13*s.* 4*d.* as a yearly payment ("Reliquary," 1890, p. 44.)

THEODORE [JEN]NINGS; with b. p. a crowned rose. Hall-marks: 1, T. J.; 2, rose; 3, l. h.; 4, Brit. (H. B.)

J. . . . F. . . . Hall-marks: 1, lion rampant; 2, snake's head; 3, dagger; 4, J. F. (H. M.)

RICHARD KING (Gracious Street, *i.e.* Gracechurch Street, in London). Flagon without other marks at Chacomb, Northampton.

THOMAS KING; a rose, crowned, with 1675. Hall-marks: 1, crossed staves crowned; 2, lion passant; 3, Britannia; 4, rose; 5, London. (H. M.)

L. A.; a large fleur-de-lys. Hall-marks: 1, horse's head; 2, buckle; 3, crown above crossed staves. (Melmesby, Carlisle.)

FRANCIS LEA; a pomegranate, with leaf mantling on the sides. (This maker had three punches of various sizes with the same device.) (H. M.)

EDWARD LEAPIDGE, 1699-1728. His touch is on p. 222. Hall-marks; 1, 2, lion; 3, buckle; O.E. letter C. Earlier marks: 1, E. L.; 2, leop. face; 3, buckle; 4, a crowned rose. (H.M.)

T. LETHERBRANCH; crossed staves crowned, and T. Letherbranch are found between two crowned Tudor roses, each within two concentric circles. (Nether Denton, Carlisle.)

HENRY LITTLE. London. Hall-marks: 1, a cock; 2, l. h. crowned; 3, lion pass.; 4, H. L. (L. D.)

HENRY MAXTED (London, 1700). Hall-marks: 1, lion passant; 2, cinquefoil; 3, l. h., crowned; 4, H. M. (B.)

EDWARD NASH LONDON; 1, Edward; below, three fleurs-de-lys on a shield; below this, Nash; 2, Edw. Nash in London; 3, Superfine hard metal.

N. E. with cardinal's hat over. On another punch a bishop with a mitre and H.R. (*temp.* Henry VIII.).

RICH. NORFOLK. Hall-marks: 1, R. N.; 2, Brit.; 3, lion; 4, l. h. (H. M.)

Robert Patience; figure of a seated woman, with Robert Patience in a scroll; also scroll, with London; below, a crown on a rose. (H. M.)

Henry Pauling; anchor and rose; July 9, 1659-60; not on the touch-plates. (W.)

John [Per]ry; device, a dove on a rose. (H. M.)

Thomas Phillips, 1622; a lion. (W. ii. 80.)

Francis Pigott; device, flower and leaves under a crescent. In oblong: | NEWGATE STREET / LONDON |. (H. M.)

R. . . . [a]llvm, with a crowned dexter hand. Hall-marks: 1, R. A.; 2, crown; 3, hand with four pellets; 4, ——? Plate, late seventeenth century. (M.)

Anthony Redhead; a swan. (W. ii. 166.)

John Redshaw. Hall-marks; 1 and 3, dog courant; 2, Brit.; 4, J. R. The plate formerly at Staple Inn was by this maker. (B.)

Walter Ricroft; an ear of corn and W. R.; 1622. (W. ii. 80.)

Thomas Rind, London; in an oval an anchor dividing the date 1675, with a crown over. Thos. Rind above.

R—— M——. Hall-marks: 1, leopard's head, crowned; 2, lion passant; 3, fleur-de-lys; 4, R. M.; all in small shields.

Elizabeth Royd (or Royden); a lion sejant in circle. Hall-marks: 1, l. h.; 2, lion ramp. to sinister; 3, b. l. E.; 4, b. l. R.; 5, R. B.

Elizabeth Royden. Hall-marks: 1, lion rampant to left; 2, l. h.; 3, b. l. E.; 4, b. l. R.

Richard S ——; large touch with device of three St. Catherine wheels. Hall-marks: 1, l. p. r.; 2, l. h. c.; 3, rose; 4, R. S.; 5, Richard . . . London above a rose; 6, large St. Catherine wheel.

Richard S . . . (London). Hall-marks: 1, l. pass., reg.; 2, l. h., crowned; 3, rose; 4, R. S.

Robert Sadler; b. p. a swan under an arch; also R. S. in a shaped shield on other wares. Hall-marks: 1, leopard's head, crowned; 2 Old E. R.; 3, Old E. S.; 4, rose.

S . . . . B . . .; armorial bearings illegible; ornate monogram below, with London. Hall-marks: 1, S. B.; 2, l. pass.;

3, l. h. crowned; 4, buckle. Found on plate dated 1679, at Norton, near Evesham. (L. D.)

Sh . . . . and Hutton; device, b. p. a double-headed eagle, with the words Hard Metal. The name is in a prettily shaped oblong. (L. D.)

John Shorey; in shaped punch, a bird on a rose (on a plate). (M.)

George Simpson, Dublin. 1, illegible; 2, cock; 3, leopard's face; 4, S. F. (H. M.)

John Skinner; (1679). Hall-marks: 1, I. S.; 2, Brit.; 3, griffin's head, to left; 4, cock's head, to right. (M.)

Samuel Smith (Snow Hill, London); between two pillars, a hare supporting a garb(?). Hall-marks: 1, lion's head; 2, leop. head, crowned; 3, Brit.; 4, SS.

Samuel Spateman. Hall-marks: 1, S S.; 2, l. h.; 3, Brit.; 4, (H. M.)

—— Starton; a star. (W. ii. 80.)

Three lions passant, guardant, in a shield. Seventeenth-century English measure. (C. L.)

James Tisoe; a portcullis; two lions affronté, with a crescent above; crest illegible; below, in label, Posse adesse; in small punch-mark [A O]. (M.)

John Townend; 1, crossed staves, crowned; 2, H. S; 3, made in London; 4, Superfine Hard Metal; 5, a lamb beneath a dove volant, with John above and Townend below, in a circle. (H. M.)

Townend and Compton; in an oval a rose, crowned, with legend "Made in London." Device in large oval, a dove with olive-branch; below, a lamb; in border, Townsend and Compton. Hall-marks: 1, arms of Pewterers' Co.; 2, arms of City of London; 3, a lion passant; 4, T. & C., with a dove volant above and below the letter. (H. M.)

John Townsend; a dove with olive-branch in its beak and date 1748. Hall-marks: 1, a lamb with a dove carrying olive-branch; 2, leop. head; 3, seated figure of peace with olive-branch. (M.)

T. P.; device, an elephant in an oval. Hall-marks: 1,

T. P.; 2, harp; 3, Brit.; 4, l. h. Probably made in England for sale in Ireland.

Peter Turner; device, a crane or pelican. Hall-marks: 1, ...; 2, P. T.; 3, l. h.; 4, l. p. (H. M.)

Unknown maker. Device, a lion rampant. Hall-marks: 1, lion ramp.; 2, crown; 3, Britannia; 4, a heart with crown over. (H. M.)

John Wallis; a wheel, with J^no^ Wallis below. (M. 1760, 1780.) Hall-marks: 1, I. W. in two semicircles joined; 2, l. p.; 3, Brit.; 4, a covered cup. (H. M.)

John Walmsley, Gainsborough, 1712; device, a hart and a crown. He was specially ordered not to add the word London. (W.)

John Waryng, 1555; a Maltese cross, with a pellet or dot in each angle. (W. i. 183.)

William Watkins; Prince of Wales' feathers, 1738.

John Watts. There are two of this name; one was Master in 1760, the other in 1780. Hall-marks: 1, X above J. W.; 2, Cath. wheel; 3, Brit.; 4, l. p.

I. Webber, Barnestaple, seems to have been supplied by Allen Bright, a maker whose name is not in the Pewterers' Lists. (L. D.)

W. C.; leopard's face, with hall marks of a —— (?) and a thistle. (Aikton, Carlisle.) (L. D.)

W. F., with a star above, and a pellet below in a lozenge. 2, four squirrels in as many lozenges. Found on a pewter tankard at Walton le Willows, 1700. (Trollope's "Ch. Plate," Leicestershire.)

W. F. in engrailed oblong (on pewter measure). (S. K. M., 1476—1902.) (M.)

A. Williams; Bideford Borough Arms, *i.e.*, ship under a bridge. Also crown and rose. (L. D.)

T. Willshire (Bristol); in l. c. a pelican in her piety; T. Willshire above, Bristol below. (H. B.)

William Withers (London, 1667) in plain circle; device, a cock. Hall-marks: 1, cock; 2, l. h.; 3, l. p.; 4, W. W. (S. K. M., 506—1898.) (M.)

W. R.; in another punch, a crowned rose, with W. R. (on a plate). Hall-marks in oblongs: 1, fleur-de-lys; 2, l. rampant (M.)

W. T. (William Townend?) Hall-marks: 1, a golden fleece; 2, lion's head, erased; 3, Britannia; 4, W. T. (H. M.)

York Marks

The York marks were generally the initials of the maker's name. The list of members admitted to the Pewterers' Company at York from 1653 to 1759 is preserved at York, and some earlier names could be traced from the extant list of apprentices, 1645-1749.

Edinburgh Marks

A castle, with initials, from 1610 to 1770.

A crowned rose with Edinburgh below the rose.

A thistle with Edinburgh, or sometimes Ed.

W[illiam] H[unter]; rose, crowned, with Edinburgh beneath the rose (*v.* "Reliquary," vii). Hall-marks: 1, thistle; 2, rose; 3, W. H.; 4, a skull or face(?)

S. Andrew's cross, with initials of maker at the sides. This was in use from about 1602.

William Scott.
W. Scott. } Probably father and son.

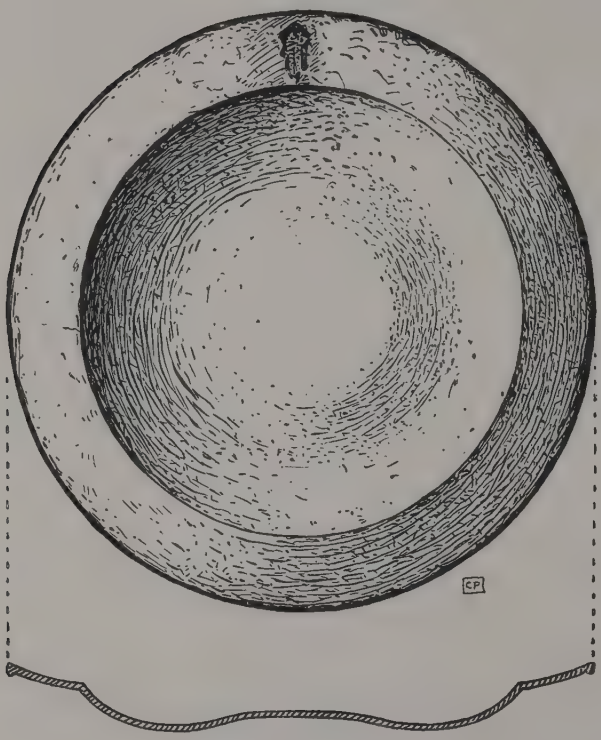
W[illiam] Scott and R[obert] K[ininburgh]; pelican on a globe or ball, with spray of flowers on either side. Hall-marks: 1, thistle; 2, R. K.; 3, W. S.; 4, rose. (B.)

Three towers; the arms of Edinburgh.

The names are conjecturally filled up from the list of Scotch pewterers given lately by Mr. Ingleby Wood in "The Connoisseur."

The touch-plates at Edinburgh in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries are elongated and narrow with circular heads, 12¼ inches long and 4½ inches wide. On the surface are punched various impressions of touches with dates extending from 1600 to 1764. The chief type of the touches is a rudely

shaped S. Andrew's cross; another is the same with initials, or monograms of initials, or initials alone. Some of them are castles, varying in design, with and without the initials, and in the later ones a date below. Here and there a stamp with a hammer is to be seen. One of 1616 has a rose, two initials, and the date.



A Plate found buried at Guy's Hospital

APPENDIX C

FOREIGN MARKS (FROM VARIOUS SOURCES)

A. L.; a crowned rose, A. L. in crown. Flemish or German. (M.)

JOHANNES BAUER. ENGL. BLOK. ZINN. in exergue of circle; device, a figure (the B. V. M.?) with pair of scales, a sword and a lily-pot. (H. B.)

JEAN ANTOINE CHARTON in a garter; in centre a negro's head, and C. and 1710, and in small beaded oval an F, crowned. Foreign. Many specimens by this maker are to be seen in the Germanisches Museum, Nuremburg. (M.)

FRANCISCUS DE COCQ in large oval, containing a bishop in full canonicals with staff.

C. G. EMLER in label in oval; below, three *fleurs-de-lys*; in another oval a stag trippant to sinister. 1781. (J. H. B.)

FRIDERICH . . .; winged female figure.

G. V., with *fleur-de-lys*. Louis XIV. plate, stamped BLANC. French. (H. C. S.)

HAGEN'S (BLOCK TIN), with arms of Antwerp (?); female figure in a shield. Flemish.

H. V. B. in four shields: 1, a child, nude, with club; 2, nude Cupid; 3, lion rampant; 4, H. V. B., with crowned rose on a French (?) tea-caddy. (L. D.)

I. H. in crown; below, a rose; 2, in oval, Moses with serpent on a pole; 3, in oval, the Archangel Michael; 4, ditto. (M.)

ILIGEN in long rectangle; device (repeated), two keys saltire-wise in shaped shield. (J. H. B.)

L. R.; in pl. circle, divided in three horizontal sections, LR at top, a dog (?) in middle, third section blank. Bernese pewter mark, eighteenth century. (M.)

P. B. in crown, rose below, with lion of Brabant. Crowned, in shaped shield. Bruges (?) 1785.

P. B. in oval; device, an angel holding a cross in one hand and palm-leaf in the other. Same mark repeated, PP.B. 1724. On a Swedish alms-dish.

P. P.; a hammer, crowned; in a shield next to this a lion rampant on a field barry, with Lo . .

S. I. in b. o., with figure of Justice, bearing sword and scales. Eighteenth century. On jug-lid, eighteenth century. S.K.M., 140-1872. (M.)

(?) T. in rose, crowned. An angel, with [P]ARIS in a crown. Louis XIV. ewer. French. (M.)

APPENDIX D

FOREIGN PEWTERERS

THE following list of French pewterers has been compiled from the lists given by Germain Bapst and Havard with several additions. Bapst's list stops at the year 1495. Havard carries it on to 1789.

The list of Nuremberg pewterers is based on that given by Herr Demiani in his monumental work on Briot, Enderlein, and "Edelzinn" generally; various alternative spellings are given in brackets.

Thirteenth Century

1292. Potiers, including the potiers d'étain, or pewterers.
? Sarulfus (mentioned in Mabillon, "Vet. Analecta").
? Bosetus (Saltcellar, or reliquary in the Musée de Cluny).

Fourteenth Century

1300. 1 batteur d'écuelles, 1 fabricant d'écuelles, 1 batteresse d'étain, 2 potières et 3 potiers d'étain.
Gauthier (Limoges).
1313. Lorence, potier d'étain (Paris).
,, Gautier (Paris).
,, Robert (Paris).
,, Jourdain (Paris).
,, Guillaume de Liloies (Paris).
,, Jehan Pot Carré (Paris).
,, Symon l'Anglois (Paris).
,, Adan l'Escot, feeseur de poz d'Estain (Paris).
,, Robert, potier d'étain (Paris).

1313. Philippe, escuellier (Paris).
1333. Michael de Nanteuil (Poitiers).
,, Charlot de Pichereul, pintier (Poitiers).
,, Yve Robin de Verronnier (Poitiers).
,, Guillaume l'Anglais (Poitiers).
,, Joseph de Luserches (Poitiers).
,, Pierre de Thoulouse (Poitiers).
,, Pierre de Pouzailles (Poitiers).
1340. Drouard (Laon).
,, Drouardet (Troyes).
1351-66. Huguenin de Besançon. (His name figures largely in the accounts of the French royal household.)
1353. Mahieu (Mons).
1354. Jehan de Paris (Provins).
1380. Michelet Breton (Paris). (Fournisseur de la maison du Roy.)
1383. Oudin du Moncel (Paris).
1386. Thibaud la Rue (Amiens).
1387. Lambinet (Troyes).
,, Nicholas de Bar (Troyes).
1395. Isabel de Moncel (Paris). (Probably widow of Oudin de Moncel, 1383.)

Fifteenth Century

1401. Jehan de Montrousti (Paris). (Pewterer to Isabelle of Bavaria.)
,, Simonnet le Cavelier (Rouen).
,, Jehan d'Abbeville (Amiens).
1403. Antheaumet Lemonnier (Rouen).
,, Deudemare (Rouen).
,, Colin Campagne (Rouen).
,, J. du Moustier (Rouen).
1411. Jehan de Beaune (Troyes).
,, Jehan Goupil, pintier (Tours).
1412. Lambinet (Troyes).
1415. Jehan Demé (Troyes).
1427. Guillaume Martel (Rouen).

1427. Ricart-Osmont; Baudet-Taillefer; Jean de Laporte; Colin Coulombel; Robinet Rabin; Lorens Dequienvemont; Emile li Cabellier; Ernestin Martel; Joseph Martel; Guillemin Martel; Paulin Lefebvre; Emile Bouettes (all of Rouen).
1438. Jacobus Michaelis; Johan Niela; Hugonius Budossini; Guillermus Angilard; Christianus Poterii (Nîmes).
,, Johan Jay (Mâcon).
,, Jacobus Michaelis (Montpellier).
1439. Pierre Offroy (Chartres).
1440. Jean de Marsaille (Rheims).
1441. Philémon Pierre (Toulouse).
1443. Mathieu de Lospital; Pierre Jacquières; Jacques de Soissons (all of Saumur).
,, Pierre Rousseau; Robin de Brueil; Michelet Frogier; Henry du Bois (all of Poitiers).
1445-51. Jehan Goupil (Tours). (Probably son of Goupil le Pintier of 1411.)
,, Estienne Chesneau (Chinon).
1448. Jeoffroy Bergereau (Montargis).
,, Geffroy Pichart (Angoulême).
1449. Jehan L'Abbé (Troyes).
1450. Bertrand Rousseau (Tours).
1451. Jehan Martial (Namur).
1462. Belin, miraclier (Troyes).
,, Veuve Domey, miraclier (Tours).
1463. Jean le Cerisier (Amiens).
1464. Robert le Greffier (Amiens).
1467. Pierart Cauvrefin (le père); Jacquemart de Sars; Jehan de Kesin; Gilles Lardiars; J. Lesey; Jehan de Sars; Audrien Cambier; Piérart; Jehan Lieu (all of Mons).
1468. Guiot de Marennes, pintier (Tours).
1473. Johanna, veuve de Johan Gassana; Johan de Sormon (alias de Paris); Johan Milhet; Johan Patar; Guiraut; Raymond Roquet (Montpellier).
1474. Colas et René Levesque; Pion Pinchard (Reims).

1475. Angelin Voirin (Chambéry).
1478. Huguenin Durant; Louis Garnier; Nicolas Durant; J. de Vougen (alias du Ban); Julien Bienmonté; Guiot Boissenet; Thierry de Vaulx; Lancelot; Prévon; Huguenin; Guenuyer: Denison Coffrier; Liénard Bellocard; Gauthier Binchois; Jacques Chanlier; Jehan (all of Dijon).
1481. Lorrain Warmert; Jacques Razebois (Reims).
1484. Jehan Lampène (Paris).
1486. Bertrand Richart; Jean Porchet; Guillaume Nerbonne; Perrin Baulan; Huguet Chaunneau or Chauveau; Christofle Mille (Bordeaux).
1487. Jehan Loudays; Ignace Vonfu; Reyné du Bois; Jehan Pillart; Jehan Louït; Guillaume Leroy; Pierre Lecomte; Jehan Reul (Angers).
1493. Jehan Chaussée, pintier (Tours).
1495. Pierre d'Archet; Claude Santeuil; Denis Guillart; Pierre Paulinier; Hector Drouet; Philippe le Feure; Jehan de Sequenille; Guillaume le Coigneux (Paris).

Sixteenth Century

1505. Jean Amot (Rouen).
1508-9. Pierre Hemioron (Amiens).
1509. Marquet Le Blond (Rouen).
1516-17. Jean d'Avesnes (Amiens).
1540-50. Estienne Cardon (Fontainebleau).
1555. Jehan Anot (Amot?) (Paris).
1583. Adrien Lecain.
1592. Poccard (Paris).

Seventeenth Century

1636. Claude Morand (Lyon).
1648. Guillaume Couet (Paris).
1668. Christofle Fromont (Pewterer to Louis XIV.).
1673-7. ——— Allen, rue Comtesse d'Artois (Paris).

1674-7. Guillaume Couetteau (Paris). (Pewterer to the King's household.)
1677-88. Thomas Desbans (Paris). (Pewterer to the King's household.
1688. Jean-Baptiste Cellé (Paris). (Pewterer to the King's household.)
1692. Antheaume—porte Saint-Michel (Paris).
1692. Allen (Paris).

Eighteenth Century

1745. Geoffroy et Helot (Paris).
1750. Jacques Boyleau (Paris).
1751. Lazare Duvaux (Paris).
1760. Renard (Paris).
„ Laumosnier.
1768. Préaux (Saint-Denis).
1772. Boileau fils.
„ Barry.
1789. Antheaume.
„ Boicervoise.
„ Dusaudois.
„ Parain.

Havard points out that by 1789 the Paris pewter trade had passed into the hands of these firms, each of which had several establishments.

NUREMBERG PEWTERERS

	MASTER	DIED
Hainrich Fehl (Fell, Feel), peuchner (Buchner)	1544	1594
Michell Oettinger	1548	1586
Jorg Christan (Christian, Christon)	1554	1596
Endree Pulzs (Bültz, bulz, Pültz)	1556	1593
Jörg Lang	1559	1586
Ulrich Pawer (pauer, Bauer)	1560	1595

	MASTER	DIED
Nic. Hoëchinner (horchaimer, horcheimer)	1561	1583
Jörg Maier (Georg Maÿr)	1563	1588
Albrecht Breisensin (Preis[s]ensin)	1564	1598
Hans Derunger (Deringor)	1565	1598
Melch[i]or Koch	1567	1622
Leonhartt Brunsterer (Prunster[er])	1567	1607
Conratt Rumpler	1567	1586
Lorenz Furst	1568	1586
Jörg Dost	1568	1612
Endris Hennickel	1569	1599
Valentin Seiferhelt (Seifferhelt)	1571	1593
Caspar Lebenter (Lebender)	1572	1594
Hans Sebastian Seiferhelt	1573	1594
Wolff Stoÿ	1574	1605
Nickglas Rumpler	1577	1607
Hans Luckher (Lucker)	1578	1616
Jorg Kropff	1581	1632
Martin Gruner (der Junger)	1581	?
Heinrich Kaÿser	1581	?
Hans Jorg Seiferhelt	1581	1595
Hanz Plettner (Blettner)	1582	?
Jörg Cristan, Christon, -ian (der Junger)	1582	1596
Jörg Hösz	1582	,,
Veitt Zipfell	1582	1611
Jacob Koch	1583	1619
Melchior Horchaimer (emer)	1583	1623
Ludwig Hoffmon	1583	?
Heckor (Hector?) Bulz, Bultz, Pulzs	1584	,,
Corneli Sigel	1586	1594
Hansz Zatzer (Zazer)	1587	1618
Sebastian Fell	1588	1599
Lorentz Lang	1588	?
Paulus Beham (Böhem)	1589	1610
Jacob Preÿ (Breÿ)	1589	1627
Georg Fuxs	1591	1601
Georg Bauer	1593	1614

	MASTER	DIED
Michel Hemmerszam, Hemershem	1594	1626
Michel Rös[s]ner	1596	1635
Frantz Breussensin (Breiss . . . Preiss)	1595	1632
Steffan Christan (Christon, -ian)	1596	1605
Paulus Rumpler	1597	1632
Thomas Gröneas	1597	,,
Jörg Dost der Junger	1597	?
Caspar Koch	1598	1603
Hansz Spatz	1595	1641
,, ,,	or 1600	
Jörg Beuder	1602	
Nicklas Christon (Christan, -ian, etc.)	1602	1632
Paulus Eham (Oehem)	1604	1634
Balthaszer Keim (Kaim, Khaim)	1606	1632
Hansz Schlela	1607	1632
Sebald Stoÿ	1608	?
Christoff Ernst	1608	1628
Michel Christan (Christon, -ian)	1608	1615
Jacob Koch	1609	1630
Sebald Reuter (Reutter, Reitter)	1611	1633
Hanz Buchner	1613	1639
Caspar Wadel[l]	1615	1659
Endres Schulthes	1616	1633
Bongratz Koller	1616	1644
Joachim Koch	1616	1632
Martin Schweinfurter	1617	1632
Conrat Koch	1621	1632
Jeorg Seger	1622	1647
Jeorg Friedrich Leÿpols	1623	1632
Christoff Fischer	1623	1634
Zacherias Mayer	1624	1632
Michel Hemersem	1624	1658
Conrat Breÿ (Preÿ)	1624	1625
Michel Rössner	1624	1632
Christoff Christan	1625	?
Jeorg Häsz (Hösz)	1625	1675

	MASTER	DIED
Conrat Koch der Ander	1627	1659
Andreas Dambach	1627	1650
Jeorg Schmans[z]	1628	1639
Hansz Rumpler	1628	1660
Jörg Christan	1628	1634
Hans Spa[t]z der Junger	1630	1670
Heinz Mayer	1630	1670
Lorenz Appel	1630	1658
Jerg Rossler (Rösler, Rösner)	1633	?

APPENDIX E

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LIST OF FREEMEN UP TO 1824

This list was copied by permission from the MS. list of Freemen at the Hall of the Pewterers' Company. It is an inaccurate eighteenth-century transcript of an earlier book, or a compilation from various other lists. It is roughly alphabetical and roughly chronological, but for ready reference it is re-arranged here in alphabetical order. For assigning a date to pewterware bearing the names of makers who are not represented on the touchplates, this list should certainly prove of great use.

ABBREVIATIONS.—M. = Master; U. W. = Under Warden; R. W. = Renter Warden; St. = Steward; L = took up his Livery; f. = fined for not taking up the office mentioned.

ABBOTT John, 1693.
Abbott, Thomas, 1792.
Abraham, Henry, 1571, R. W.
Ackland, Thomas, 1728, L.
Adams, Henry, 1692.
Adams, Nath., 1692, L.
Adams, Robt., 1667, L.
Adams, Wm., 1671, U. W.
Afferton, John, 1506, U. W.
Alder, Thomas, 1667, L.
Alderson, George, 1817.
Alderson, John, 1771.
Allanson, Edward, 1702.
Allen, Jas., 1740.
Allen, Richard, 1668, L.
Alysanndre, Thomas, 1488, M.
Alyxander, Paul, 1516, W.
Anayson, John, 1523, M. (in Mr. Welch's list given as Magson).[1]
Angel, John, L.
Angell, Philemon, 1691, L.
Appleton, Henry, 1751.
Appleton, John, 1779.
Archer, Wm., 1653, M.
Arden, John, 1821.
Ashley, Jas., 1824.
Ashley, Thomas J. Th., 1824.
Ashlyn, Lawr., 1559, St.
Astlyn, John, 1514, R. W.
Astlyn, Lawence, R. W. 1491, M. 1504, 1505, '08, '09, '15, '16, '21, '22.
Astlyn, Walter, M. 1534.
Attwood, Wm., 1736.
Aunsell, Stephen, 1451, W.
Austen, Rich., 1659, M.
Austen, Thomas, L.
Austin, J. Ralph, 1806.
Austin, Sam., 1693.
Austin, Wm., 1677, M.
Aylife, Wm., 1667.

Bache, Rich., 1804.
Bacon, George, 1746.
Bagshaw, Geo., 1810.
Bagshaw, Rich., 1809, L.
Bagshaw, Thos., 1810, L.
Bailey, John, 1789, M.
Baker, Sam., 1678, St.
Baker, Wm., 1558, W.
Balleson, Thos., 1667, L.
Bampton, Wm., 1785, M.
Barber, Nath., 1782, L.
Barker, John, 1585, W.
Barker, Jos., 1797, M.
Barker, Sam., 1786, L.
Barnes, Thos., 1738, L.
Barnett, Robt., 1815, R. W.
Barron, Robt., 1786, L.

[1] The names in parentheses at the end of a line are variants as given in Mr. Welch's "List of the Masters and Wardens."

Barrow, Rd., 1667, L.
Barton, Dan., 1678.
Baskerville [John], 1695.
Basnett, John, 1821.
Basnett, Nath., 1777.
Bateman, John, 1670, M.
Bathurst, John, 1715, L.
Baxter, John, 1513, R. W.
Beard, Sampson, 1691, L.
Bearsley, Allison, 1711, L.
Bearsley, Job, 1678.
Bearsley, Job, 1711, L.
Beckett, Thos., 1715.
Beeston, George, 1756, L.
Belson, John, 1748.
Bemsley, Edward, 1749, R. W.
Bennett, John, 1653, R. W.
Bennett, John, 1679, M.
Bennett, Ph., 1542, R. W.
Bennett, Wm., 1662, St.
Benson, John, 1740, L.
Benton, Ralph, 1681.
Beswick, Thomas, 1533, '40, M. (Urswyke.)
Bhytyng, John, 1480, R. W. (Whytyng)
Blackwell, Th., 1547, R. W.
Blagrave, Wm., 1664, L.
Blake, John, 1783, L.
Blake, John, 1832, M.
Bland, John, 1734.
Blunt, John, 1681, L.
Boardman, Thos., 1746.
Boost, Jas., 1758.
Boss, Sam., 1715.
Boteler, John, 1748.
Boultinge, John, 1575, R. W.
Bowring, Charles, 1820.
Bowyer, Wm., 1642, fd. M.
Brailsford, Peter, 1667, L.
Brocklesby, Peter, 1629, M.
Bro[c]klesby, Peter, Jun., 1627, R. W.
Brocklesby, Peter (iii.), 1667, L.
Brooks, John, 1637, R. W.
Brooks, Rice, 1667.
Broxup, Rich., 1793, L.
Buckby, Thos., 1716, L.
Bull, John, 1678, St.
Bullevant, Jas., 1667, L.
Bullock, Jas., 1752; struck off, 1754.
Bullock, Jas., 1758.
Burford, Thos., 1779, M.
Burt, And., 1802, L.
Burt, Thos., 1630, U. W.
Burton, John, 1513, '14, M.
Burton, Thos., 1569, R. W.
Burton, Wm., 1685, M.
Butcher, Gabriel, 1633-35, M.
Butcher, Robt., 1639, M.
Butcher, Thos., 1652, R. W.
Buxton, Robt., 1619, R. W.
Byrd, John, 1654, M.
Bysshop, Pierce, M., 1452, '61, '72, '79.

Cacher, Edwd., 1556, '57, '61, M.
Callie, Wm., 1510, R. W.
Campion, John, 1662.
Caney, Jos., 1748.
Carnadyne, Alex., 1595, R. W.
Cardynall, John, 1480, U. W.
Carpenter, Henry, 1786, 1809, '16, M.
Carpenter, John, 1739, L.
Carrye, John, 1543, '44, '52, M. (Cary.)
Carter, Jos., 1812, M.
Carter, Sam., 1794, M.
Carter, Thos., 1648, U. W.
Cartwright, Thos., 1745, M.
Catcher, John, 1585, M.
Catcher, Thos., 1584, R. W.
Cator, John, 1752.
Cave, Jo., 1492-96., U. W.
Chalk, Wm., 1482, R. W.
Chamberlain, Thos., 1765, M.
Chamberlayn, Thos., 1517, '18, '26, '32, '36, M.
Chamberleyn, Robert, 1458, '66, M.
Charlesby, Wm., 1764, M. (Charsley.)
Chassey, Jos., 1650, St.
Chawner, Robt., 1573, '80, U. W.
Chawner, Wm., 1761, L.
Chesslin, Rich., 1682, W.
Chester, Geo., 1628, '34, M.
Child, Lawrence, 1702, L.
Childe, John, 1643, M.

Chyld, John, 1534, R. W.
Clack, Rich., 1754.
Claridge, Benj., 1672.
Claridge, Ch., 1758, L.
Claridge, Jos., 1739, L.
Clark, Henry, 1555, M.
Clark, John, 1667, L.
Clark, John, 1788, R. W.
Clark, Thos., 1543, R. W.
Clark, Thos., 1711, M.
Clarke, Sam., 1732.
Clarke, Wm., 1750, '51, '55.
Cleeve, Alex., 1719, '27, M.
Cleeve, Alex., 1724, St.
Cleeve, Bowcher, 1736.
Cleeve, Edw., 1716, L.
Cleeve, Rich., 1743.
Clements, John, 1782, M.
Cliffe, Thos., 1639, U. W.
Clyffe, John, 1599, 1602, '07, M.
Cock, Humphrey, 1670.
Cocks, Sam., 1819.
Codde, Steven, 1464, '67, U. W. (Todd.)
Coldham, John, 1456, '65, M.
Cole, Benj., 1683, M.
Cole, Jeremiah, 1692, L.
Collett, Thos., 1737, L.
Collier, Nich., 1604, U. W.
Collier, Rd., 1737, St.
Collins, Dan., 1805, W.
Collins, Dan. Thos., 1812.
Collins, Jas., 1811.
Collins, Sam., 1768, L.
Collyer, Rich., 1669, L.
Compton, Thos., 1807.
Cooch, Wm. (? Cook), 1782.
Cook, Wm., 1707, L.
Cooke, Edmund, 1701, L.
Cooper, Benj., 1684.
Cooper, Geo., 1819, M.
Cooper, Rich., 1818.
Cooper, Thos., 1838, M.
Cooper, W. M.
Cotton, Jonath., 1750, L.
Cotton, Jonathan, Jun., 1759.
Cotton, Jonathan, Sen., 1736, M.
Cotton, Thos., 1778, M.
Coursey, John, 1667, L.
Cowdwell, John, 1620, M.
Cowes, Henry, 1640, 45.
Cowes, Thos., 1605, U. W.
Cowley, John, 1736, R. W.
Cowley, Wm., 1695, M.
Cowley, Wm., 1734, M.
Cowyer, Nich., 1607, R. W. (Bowyer.)
Cox, John, 1679, L.
Crellin, Philip, 1820, M.
Cripps, Mark, 1762, M.
Cropp, Wm., 1667, L.
Cross, Wm., 1659.
Cross, Wm., 1668, L.
Crostwayte, Nich., 1557, '59, U. W. (Crosthwaite.)
Crostwayt, Rich., 1541, '42, '50, M. (Crosthwaite.)
Crowde, Wm., 1463, '73, '74, M.
Crowe, Wm., 1512, '19, U. W.
Crowson, John, 1586, R. W.
Curd, Thos., 1756, St.
Curnom, Robt., 1498, U. W. (Turnour.)
Curns, Robt., 1491, U. W.
Curtis, Thos., 1538, '39, '45, '46, M.
Curtys, Peter, 1525, M.
Curtys, Wm., 1566, 1569, '73, '76, '77, '79-'83, '86, M.
Cusnons, John, 1453, M. (Turnour.)
Cuss, Jo., 1455, M. (Guss.)

Dackombe, Aquila, 1818, M.
Dadley, Edw., 1804, M.
Darling, Thos., 1758, R. W.
Daveson, Wm., 1667.
Davis, John, 1747, L.
Davis, Rich., 1664.
Dawes, Rich. (1652), f.
Dawkins, Pollisargus, 1628, R. W.
Day, John, 1554, '60, '65, M.
De Jersey, Wm., 1773, M.
Dickinson, Thos., 1667.
Diston, Giles, 1667.
Ditch, Wm., 1669.
Donne, John, 1727, M.
Donne, Jos., 1740, R. W.

Dottowe, John, 1460, R. W.
Do(w)nton, Thos., 1481, U. W.
Dove, John, 1713, U. W.
Draper, Jas., 1598, R. W.
Drayton, Symkin, 1466, R. W.
Drinkwater, Timothy, 1676.
Droke, Wm., 1528, M. (Crowe.)
Dropwell, Robt., 1570, R. W. (Crosswell.)
Drury, John, 1673, M.
Duffield, Peter, 1672, 1688, M.
Duffield, Peter, 1697.
Dunne, Rich., 1696, St.
Dunning, Thos., Jun., 1617, R. W.
Dunninge, Thos., Sen., 1604, '05, '10, '14, '17, M. (Donning.)
Durand, Jonas, 1726, U. W.
Durand, Jonas (ii.), 1763, R. W.
Duxell, Rich., 1616, St.; dismissed, 1629.
Dyer, John, 1703, M.
Dyer, Lawrence, 1675, M
Dyer, Lawrence (the younger), 1726, '28, R. W.
Dyer, Wm., 1667.

Eames, Rich., 1697, L.
Eastwell, Abraham, 1591, M.
Eden, Wm., 1737, M.
Egan, Andrew, 1783.
Elderton, John, 1731, M.
Elice, Wm., 1487, '90, U. W.
Elliot, Barth., 1746, L.
Elliott, Thos., 1604, M.
Ellis, John, 1770, R. W.
Ellis, Sam., 1748, M.
Ellis, Sam., Jun., 1754.
Ellwood, Wm., 1733, M.
Ellwood, Wm., 1749.
Elyot, Thos., 1579, M.
Emes, John, 1700, M.
Emmerton, Thos., 1736, R. W.
Emmestow, Wm., 1591, R. W. (Hummerstone.)
Evat, Thos., 1797.
Ewsters, Thos., 1753.
Eyre, Wm., 1460, '64, '68, '71, '75, M.

Farmer, John, 1736, L.
Farson, John, 1745, L.
Farthing, Roger, 1573, R. W.
Fasson, Benj., 1815, M.
Fasson, John, 1762, L.
Fasson, Thos., 1803, M.
Fasson, Wm., 1787, M.
Fenn, George, 1588, R. W. (Not in Mr. Welch's list.)
Ferner, John, 1595, U. W. (Steward.)
Field, Daniel Spencer, 1830, M.
Field, Edw. Spencer, 1771.
Fletcher, Rich., 1701, U. W.
Flood, John, 1537, M.
Floyd, John, 1787, R. W.
Fly, Timothy, 1739, M.
Fly, Wm., 1691.
Fontain, James, 1786, L.
Ford, Abraham, 1719.
Ford, John, 1772, R. W.
Foster, Boniface, 1574, R. W.
Foull, Thos., 1541, U. W.
Fox, Edw., 1617, St.
Franklyn, Rich., 1730, R. W.
Freeman, Henry, 1669.
Fryer, John, 1710, 1715, M.
Fullham, Andrew, 1614, R. W.
Fullham, John, 1637-42, M.

Gardner, Allyn, 1578, M.
Gartwell, Abraham, 1595, M. (Hartwell.)
Gasker, Percival, 1593, '97, M. (Gascar.)
Gavokeford (not in Mr. Welch's list) 1601, U. W.
Gery, John, 1567, '70, '74, M. (Gerye.)
Giffin, Thos., Jun., 1766.
Giffin, Thos., Sen., 1753, '57, M.
Gilbert, Edward, 1662, M.
Giles, Wm., 1769, M.
Gisborne, Robt., 1691, M. (Gisberne.)
Glover, Edward, 1620, R. W.
Glover, Henry, 1620.
Glover, Rich., 1606, '11, M.
Glover, Roger, 1615, M.
Goater, Thos., 1758, L.
Godeluk, Thos., 1468, R. W.
Godfrey, Stephen, 1679, L.
Gollde, Wm., 1470, M. (Crowde.)

Goodall, John, 1457, M.
Goodman, Philip, 1596, R. W.
Grainge, John, 1816, M.
Grainger, Wm., 1638, U. W.
Grant, Edw., 1741, M.
Gratton, Jos., 1839, M.
Graunt, Jo., 1659, St.
Graves, Francis, 1629, R. W.
Green, James, 1778, U. W.
Green, Wm., 1684, L.
Green, Wm. Sandys, 1737, L.
Greenfell, George, 1579, L.
Gregg, John, 1451, M.
Gregg, Robt., 1683, St.
Gregg, Thos., 1671, '74, '77, M.
Groome, Randell, 1624, R. W.
Groves, Edmund, 1773.
Grunwin, Gabriel, 1693, L.
Grunwin, Rich., 1729, R. W.
Guss, John, 1455, M.
Gwilt, — (?), 1709, L.
Gwyn, Bacon, 1709, L.

Hadley, Isaac, 1668.
Hall, John, Jun., 1823.
Hall, John, Sen., 1810, M.
Hamilton, Alex., 1646, St.
Hammerton, Henry, 1733, R. W.
Hamond, George, 1709, St.
Hancock, Sam, 1714, U. W.
Handy, Wm., 1746.
Harding, Robt., 1668, L.
Harendon, — (?), 1664, St.
Harford, Henry, 1696.
Harper, Edw., 1572, St.
Harris, Jabez, 1734, R. W.
Hartshorne, Michael, 1693, R. W.
Harvye, John, 1555, St.
Hasselborne, Jacob, 1722, M.
Hassell, Thos., 1566, R. W.
Hatfield, Wm., 1627, St.
Haveland, Miles, 1664.
Haward, Thos., 1666, M.
Haward, Thomas, Jun., 1667, L.
Hawclif, Symon, 1568, St.
Hawke, Thos., 1588, U. W.
Hawkes, Edw., 1667.
Hawkins, St., 1543, U. W.
Haynes, Wm., 1560, U. W.
Hayton, John, 1748.
Heath, Edw., 1656, U. W.
Heath, John, 1618, R. W.
Heath, Rich., 1699, M.
Henson, Thos., 1614, St.
Herne, Dan., 1767, L.
Heythwaite, Mighell (Michael), 1553, U. W.
Hickling, Thomas, 1698, U. W. (Hicks.)
Hicks, Thos., 1698, M.
Highmore, Wm., 1742.
Hill, Hough (Hugh), 1625, U. W.
Hill, Wm., 1672, U. W.
Hills, Wm., 1636-41, M.
Hinde, John, 1796, M.
Hinde, John, 1800.
Hitchins, John, 1786, U. W.
Hitchman, Jas., 1716, L.
Hitchman, Robt., 1761, U. W.
Hoare, Thos., 1728, St.
Hodge, Robt. Peircy, 1802, M.
Hodges, Jos., 1667, L.
Hodgkis, Arthur, 1635, St.
Holley, John, 1706, St.
Hollford, Stephen, 1668, St.
Holman, Ary, 1790-91, M.
Holmes, George, 1746.
Home, John, 1771, R. W.
Hone, Wm., 1713, L.
Hopkins, Jos., 1667, L.
Howard, Wm., 1702, M.
Howard, Wm., 1779, R. W.
Howell, Ralph, 1623, f. U. W.
Hubbard, Robt., 1717, St.
Hudson, John, 1804.
Hull, Thos., 1650, M.
Hulls, John, 1709, M.
Hulls, Ralph, 1682, M. (Hull.)
Hulls, Wm., 1744, M.
Hummerstone, Wm., 1591, R. W.
Hunton, Nich., 1670, St.
Hurdman, Wm., 1622, '24, '25.
Hurst, Richard, 1826, M.
Hustwaite, Robt., 1571, St.

Hustwayte, Wm., 1548, '49, '59, M. (Husthwaite.)
Hutchins, Wm., 1732, L.
Hux, Thomas, 1739.
Hux, Wm., 1728, St.
Hyatt, Humphrey, 1681, L.
Hyll (Hill), Walter, 1601, M.
Hyll, Wm., 1599, 1602, U. W.
Hylyngworth, Clement, 1553, M. (Kellyngworth.)

Iles, John, 1709, L.
Iles, Nath., 1719, L.
Iles, Rich., 1697, f. St.
Iles, Robert, 1735, f. U. W.
Ingles, Jon., 1678, f. St.
Ingole, Dan., 1688, U. W.
Isade, Roger, 1569, St.

Jackman, Nich., 1735, M.
Jackson, John, 1589, M.
Jackson, John, 1712, U. W.
Jackson, John, 1731, L.
Jackson, R., 1801, M.
Jackson, Sam., 1684, '87, '90, 1700, '14, M.
Jackson, Thomas, 1492-93, M.
Jackson, Thomas, 1660, M.
Jackson, Wm., 1668, L.
Jacobs, John, 1663, M.
Jacomb, Josiah, 1675, St.
James, Anth., 1713, M.
Jann, Thos., 1535, M.
Jarrett, John, 1656, M.
Jaxon, Wm., 1512, R. W. (Jakson.)
Jefferys, Sam., 1739, L.
Jennings, Theodore, 1741, St.
Johnson, John, 1666-67, St.
Jones, Clayton, 1746, L.
Jones, James, 1628, St.
Jones, John, 1750, L.
Jones, John, Sen., 1745, M.
Jones, John, Jun., 1758, M.
Jones, Owen, 1647, 1649, St.
Jones, Robt., 1667, L.
Jones, Thos., 1632, f.
Jones, Wm., 1676, U. W.
Joseph, Henry, 1771, M.
Joseph, Richard, 1805-6, M.
Jupe, John, 1761, M.
Jupe, Robt., 1737, M.

Kelk, James (Capt.), 1687-88, M.
Kelke, Nicholas, 1665, '81, '86, M. (Kelk.)
Kellyngworth, Clement, 1553, M.
Kendrick, John, 1754, R.W. (Kenrick.)
Kent, John, 1749.
Kent, Wm., 1623, St.
Kenton, John, 1711, U. W.
King, Abr., 1693, M.
King, Joseph, 1709, R. W.
King, Richard, 1593, R. W.
King, Richard, 1746, M.
King, Rich., Jun., 1798, M.
King, Robert, 1711, L.
King, Thos., 1687, St.
Knight, Francis, 1692, St.
Knowles, Tobias (Capt.), 1664, M.

Lackford, John, 1664, L.
Laffar, John, 1720, L.
Lamb, Jos. (Major), 1738, R. W.
Langford, John, 1757, M.
Langford, Wm., 1679.
Langley, Adam, 1680, R. W.
Langtoft, Nich., 1524, U. W.
Langtoft, Robt., 1519-20, M.
Langtoft, Thos., 1478, M.
Large, Wm., 1459, '63, '69, '72, '77, U. W.
Larkin, Francis, 1685.
Lawrence, John, 1723, M.
Lawrence, John, 1749, U. W.
Lawrence, Steph., 1684, R. W.
Lawton, Rich., 1453, U. W.
Lea, Francis, 1664, L.
Leach, Thos., 1691, L.
Leach, Thos., 1747, St.
Leapidge, Edw., 1724, R. W.
Leapidge, John, 1763, M.
Leapidge, Thos., 1696, L.
Leeson, John, 1680, M.
Leeson, Robt., 1648, M.
Leggatt, Jas., 1755, L.
Leggatt, R., 1746, L.
Little, Henry, 1755, R. W.

Lock, Robt., 1692, L.
Lockwood, Edw., 1790, M.
Long, Sefton, 1680, f. St.
Long, Sefton, 1692, f. St.
Long, Wm., 1707, St.
Loton, Wm., 1567, '71, U. W.
Lucas, Robt., 1667, M.
Lucas, Stephen, 1825, M.

Mabbes, Sam., 1685, L.
Machyn, Thos., 1539, R. W.
Major, John, 1657, M.
Makyns, Walter, 1554, R. W.
Mann, John, 168, '88, U. W.
Mannynge, Rich., 1574, St.
Mansworth, Thos., 1585, R. W.
Marsh, Ralph, 1662, U. W.
Marsh, Ralph, 1671, St.
Marten, Robt., 1674, M.
Mason, Rich, 1679, R. W.
Mason, John, 1695, St.
Masham, Hugh, 1713, St.
Massam, Robt., 1740, L.
Mathewe, John, 1569, U. W.
Mathews, Edw., 1728, M.
Mathews, Jas., 1746, St.
Mathews, Peter, 1632, R. W.
Mathews, Philip, 1743.
Mathews, Wm., 1689, M.
Mathews, Wm., 1699, L.
Mathews, Wm., 1741, St.
Maundrill, Rich., 1693, L.
Maxey, Charles Puckle, 1752 (never "cloathed," *i.e.*, never took up his livery).
Mayor, Anth., 1668, U. W.
Meakin, Nath., 1768, M.
Meakin, Nath, Jun., 1768, St.
Meares, John, 1657, St.
Mears, Ralfe, 1643, R. W.
Mears, Wm., 1598, M.
Meggot, George, 1655, M.
Mellett, Rich. (Capt.), 1660, R. W.
Middleton, Leonard, 1752, L.
Millin, Wm., 1786, L.
Mills, Nath., 1668, L.
Mills, Nicholas, 1534, U. W.
Milton, Wheler, 1650, St.
Mister, Rich., 1827, M.
Mitchell, John, 1619, St.
Mitchell, John, 1755, St.
Mitchell, Paul, 1739, St.
Molton, John, 1667, L.
Momford, John, 1641, R. W.
Moring, Randall, 1821, M.
Morse, Robt., 1709, L.
Moser, Roger, 1806.
Moulins, Robt., 1676, '89, M.
Moulins, Robt., Jun., 1704, St.
Mourgue, Fulcrand, 1807, '08, R. W.
Moxon, Sam., 1799, M.
Mudge, Walter, 1793, M.
Mullens, John, 1805.
Mullins, R., 1647, M.
Munday, Thos., 1767, St.
Munden, Wm., 1771, St.
Munns, Nath, 1667, L.
Mylls, Wm. (Mills), 1564, '68, '71, M.

Nash, Edw., 1738, St.
Nashe, Thos., 1485, R. W.
Needham, Thos., 1665, f. St.
Newes, Robt., 1578, St.
Newham, John, 1731, U. W.
Newham, Wm., 1727, St.
Newham, Wm., 1745, R. W.
Newman, Michael, 1652, M.
Newman, Michael, Jun., 1670, M.
Newman, Rich., 1753, L.
Newman, Thos., 1660, f. St.
Newnam, —, 1642.
Newton, Hugh, 1616, '21, M.
Nicholls, Thos., 1786, L.
Nicholls, Thos., 1566, St.
Nicholson, James, 1730, L.
Nicholson, Robt., 1725, M.
Nixon, Robt., 1589, St.
Nogay, Thos., 1580, M.
Norfolk, Joseph, 1764, L.
Norfolk, Rich., 1776, M.
North, George, 1703, L.
Norton, John, 1583, R. W.

O'Neal, Rich., 1728, St.
Onton, John, 1513-14, M. (Burton.)

Osborn, John, 1715, L.
Oudley, Robt., 1725.
Outlawe, Thos., 1504, R. W.

Paddon, Thos., 1705, St.
Page, John, 1697.
Page, Thos., 1462, '66, '70, U. W.
Paine, 1661, f. St.
Palmer, Ebenezer, 1818, L.
Palmer, Rich., 1822, M.
Palmer, Roger, 1642, f. U. W.
Paltock, John, 1627, St.
Parke, Peter, 1666, U. W.
Parker, Daniel, 1710, U. W.
Parker, Jos., 1679, St.
Parker, Wm., 1809, L.
Parr, Robert, 1767, U. W.
Parrett, Thos., 1609, R. W. (Parrat.)
Parys, John, 1467, '76, '80, '84, M.
Patience, Robt., 1772, M.
Pattison, Simon, 1733, L.
Paxton, Wm., 1696, M.
Peacock, Sam., 1785, R. W.
Peacock, Thos., 1783, L.
Pecke, Nich., 1548, R. W.
Pecok, Thos., 1511, '18, U. W.
Pecok, Wm., 1510, '11, M.
Peircy, Robt., 1760, St.
Peisley, George, 1719, L.
Perchard, Hellier, 1745, M.
Perchard, Sam., 1752, L.
Perkyns, Rich., 1593, U. W.
Perris, Henry, 1678, M.
Perry, John, 1773, R. W.
Perry, John, 1808, St.
Pettiver, Wm., 1679, U. W.
Philips, James, 1651, M.
Phillips, John, 1815, L.
Phillips, Thomas, 1817, M.
Phillips, Wm., 1783, L.
Piddle, Joseph, 1685, L.
Pidgwin, John, 1785, L.
Pierce, Jas. Henry, 1825, R. W.
Piggott, Francis, 1770, M.
Piggott, John, 1738, L.
Piggott, Thos., 1725.
Pight, Henry, 1678, L.
Pilkington, Robt., 1709, L.
Pitt, Rich., 1781, M.
Platt, Thos., 1619, St.
Ponder, Simon, 1555, R. W.
Pool, Rich., 1748, L.
Porteus, Robt., 1790, U. W.
Porteus, Thomas, 1765, L.
Potter, George, 1831, R. W.
Powell, Ralph, 1621, U. W.
Powell, Thos., 1706, '07, M.
Pratt, Jos., 1720, M.
Price, John, 1781, R. W.
Prichard, Polydore, 1649, M.
Priddle, Sam., 1798, L.
Priest, Peter, 1667, L.
Proctor, Francis, 1631, f. St.
Puller, Sam., 1714, St.
Pycroft, Walter, 1624, f. St.
Pypond, John, 1461, '64, R. W.

Quick, Edw., 1756, M.
Quick, Edw., Jun., 1772, U. W.
Quick, Hugh, 1708, M.

Rack, Ch., 1691.
Randall, Edw., 1711, R. W.
Randall, Lewis, 1609, '13, M.
Raper, Christopher, 1694, M.
Rawlins, Wm., 1668, M.
Reade, Simon, 1660, f. S.
Redhead, Anth., 1695, R. W.
Redhead, Gabriel, 1689, R. W.
Redknap, Peter, 1720, L.
Redman, Wm., 1574, U. W.
Reeve, John, 1818, L.
Reeve, Jos., 1807, L.
Reeve, Wm., 1833, R. W.
Rendale, Jo., 1454, '59, '62, M.
Renston, John, 1527, '32, R. W.
Renton, John, 1687, L.
Reo, Edw., 1582, '88, M.
Reynolds, Robt., 1767, L.
Reynolds, Thos., 1669, L.
Rhodes, Thos., 1746, R. W.
Ridding, Jos., 1735, St.
Ridding, Theophilus, 1679. (On Touch-plate 1 = Reading.)

Ridding, Thomas, 1697, R. W.
Ridgley, Wm., 1731, U. W
Righton, Sam., 1737.
Roaffe, George, 1600, U. W.
Roberts, Oliver, 1644, M.
Roberts, Philip, 1753, St.
Roberts, Wm., 1618, St.
Robins, James, 1725, St.
Robins, John, 1638, M.
Robinson, G., 1808, M.
Robinson, George, Jun., 1819.
Rooke, Rich., 1777, M.
Rowe, Wm., 1507, R. W.
Rowlandson, Stephen, 1563, M.
Rowles, Thos., 1732, L.
Roysdon, John, 1526, '32, U. W. (Royedon, Rowdon.)
Royston, Ambrose, 1609, U. W.
Royston, —(?), 1620, f. R. W.
Royston, John, 1558, '62, M.
Rudd, Anth., 1629, St.
Rudsby, Andr., 1692, L.
Ruffin, Thos., 1808, U. W.
Russell, Thomas, 1611, St.

Sandys, Wm., 1703, L.
Sansbry, John, 1810, L.
Savage, John, 1741, M.
Savage, John, 1758, St.
Scot, Rich., 1562, R. W.
Scott, Benjamin, 1656, f. St.
Scattergood, Thos., 1733, R. W.
Scattergood, Thos., 1774, '75, M.
Scarlet, Sam., 1765, L.
Scatchard, Robert, 1761.
Seabright, Charles, 1685, L.
Seabroke, Robt., 1794, L.
Seawell, Edw., 1797, L.
Seddon, Charles, 1669, L.
Seears, Roger, 1651, St.
Seeling, John, 1656, W.
Sewdley, Henry, 1738, M.
Sexteyn, Wm., 1482, '85, '90, '91, '96, 1502, '03, M.
Shackle, Thos., 1686, St.
Shackle, Thos., Jun., 1701, L.
Sharrock, Edmund, 1742, L.
Sharwood, James, 1776, St.
Shath, Thos., 1680, f. St.
Shaw, James, 1796, L.
Sheppard, Robert, 1619, M.
Sherman, Rich., 1693, St.
Sherwyn, John, 1547, M.
Sherwyn, Joh., 1578, U. W.
Shorey, Barth., 1747-49, M.
Shorey, John, 1711, St.
Shorey, John (Col.), 1720, U. W.
Siar, Wm., 1641, U. W.
Silk, John, 1658, M.
Silk, John, 1700, St.
Simkin, Jas., 1659, St.
Singleton, Leon, 1615, '19, U. W.
Skinn, John, 1679, St.
Slaughter, Rich., 1742, St.
Smackergill, Wm., 1610, R. W.
Smalley, Sam., 1701, St.
Smallwood, Wm., 1469, '77, '81, '86, M.
Smite, George, 1672, f. St.
Smith, Anth., 1702, L.
Smith, Charles, 1789, R. W.
Smith, George, 1623, U.W. (John Smith.)
Smith, George, 1795, M.
Smith, Isaac, 1813, M.
Smith, John, 1656, f. St.
Smith, John, 1709, L.
Smith, Jos., 1706, St.
Smith, Rich., 1705, M.
Smith, Samuel, 1753, W.
Smith, Thomas, 1669, L.
Smith, Thos., 1689, St.
Smith, Wm., 1799, L.
Smithe, Thos., 1631, '32, M.
Smyth, George, 1660, f. St.
Smythe, Thos, 1460, R. W.
Snow, Samuel, 1681, M.
Spackman, James, 1742, M.
Spackman, James, 1781, L
Spackman, Jos., 1761, St.
Spackman, Jos., Jun., 1784, L.
Sparrow, Francis, 1746, L.
Spateman, Sam., 1750, St.
Spooner, Rich., 1749, W.
Spring, Thos., 1720, St.
Stafford, George, 1740, L.

Stanton, Robt., 1818, L.
Stanley, Francis, 1722.
Staples, Henry, 1817, L.
Staples, Rich., 1623, M.
Starkey, James, 1748, L.
Stevens, James, 1774, L.
Stevens, Philip, 1716, L.
Stevens, Thos., 1732. L.
Stevens, Wm., 1710, St.
Steventon, Rich., 1608, '14, U. W.
Steward, John, 1595, U. W.
Steward, John, 1600, '3, '8, M.
Steward, John, 1634, St.
Steward, John, 1641, St.
Steward, Rowland, 1694, L.
Steward, Toby, 1630, M.
Stiles, John, 1730, M.
Stode, Jos., 1530, M.
Stone, Thos., 1692, M.
Straye, Ralph, 1587, '90, 94, M.
Stribblehill, Thos., 1693, L.
Strong, Francis, 1746, St.
Sturt, Walter, 1679, L.
Summers, John, 1747, R. W.
Swanson, Thos., 1777, R. W.
Sweeting, Ch., 1658, f. R. W.
Sweeting, Ch., 1685, L.
Sweeting, Charles, 1717, L.
Sweeting, Henry, 1646, M.
Sweeting, John (Capt.), 1661, M.
Swift, Cornelius, 1814, M.

Taylor, Abraham, 1651, St.
Taylor, Ebenezer, 1847, M.
Taylor, George, 1783, R. W.
Taudin, James, 1679, M.
Taylor, Rich., 1524, '29, ? M.
Taylor, Robt., 1551, M.
Taylor, Sam., 1748, R. W.
Taylor, Thos., 1704, 1716, M.
Taylor, Wm. G., 1842, M.
Teale, John, 1690, St.
Templeman, Thos., 1697, M.
Thomas, Walter, 1756, L.
Thompson, R., 1576, St.
Thompson, Wm., 1738, L.
Thorogood, Nich., 1634, St.
Thurgood, John, 1503, '29, W.
Tidmarsh, Jas., 1750, L.
Tisoe, John, 1774, U. W.
Tisoe, James, 1764, R. W.
Tidmarsh, Thos., 1721, M.
Tilyard, Thomas, 1702.
Tidmarsh, John, 1752, M.
Todd, Steven, 1464, '67, U. W.
Toms, Edw., 1783, M.
Tonkin, Mathew, 1749, L.
Tough, Ch., 1667, L.
Tough, Charles, 1689, L.
Toulmin, George, 1805, L.
Tovey, Wm., 1801, R. W.
Towers, John G., 1809, L.
Towers, Robert, 1807, M.
Trahern, Edw., 1712, 1718, M.
Tumberville, Daubeny, 1714, L.
Turner, Nich., 1606, U. W.
Turner, Stephen, 1694, L.
Turner, Wm. Robt., 1815, M.
Turner, Wm. (no date).
Turnour, Robt., 1498, U. W.

Ubly, Edw., 1727, L.
Ubly, Thomas, 1751, L.
Urswyke, Thos., 1533, '40, M. Beswick in List of Liverymen.

Vaughan, John, 1792, M.
Vernon, Rich., 1650, St.
Vile, Thomas, 1675, St.
Vincent, John, 1685, L.

Waddoce, Thos., 1565, M.
Walker, John, 1617, St.
Walker, Nich., 1473, U. W.
Walsh, Walter, 1486, '89, U. W.
Wargnyer, Rich., 1561, St. (? Warrener.)
Warkman, Rich., 1727, R. W.
Watterer, Thos., 1709, U. W.
Watts, John, 1760, M.
Watts, John C., 1780, M.
Weaver, Wm., 1801, L.
Webb, Christopher, 1669, f. R. W.
Webb, Joseph, 1726, M.
Webb, Richard, 1699, St.

Welford, James, 1754, M.
Welford, John, 1788, M.
Wescott, Henry, 1640, f. St.
Westwood, Joseph, 1706, L.
Wetwood, Kath. (Welch, ii. 22), 1633.
White, Joseph, 1658, St.
White, Rich., 1729, M.
White, Wm., 1743, L.
White, Wm., 1772, St.
White, — (?), 1640, St.
Whitehede, John, 1475, U. W.
Whittle, Francis, 1731, St.
Whytbe, Thos., 1551, St.
Whytyng, John, 1480, R. W.
Wiggin, Henry, 1690, L.
Wilbey, Wm., 1487, '94, '98, M.
Willett, Rich., 1666, f. U. W.
Williamson, Rich., 1553, St.
Willis, Nich., 1529, R. W.
Wilson, John, 1502, U. W.
Winchcombe, Thos., 1697, L.
Wingod, John, 1766, St.
Wingod, Joseph, 1767, M.
Withebed, Rich., 1678, f. St.
Withers, Benjamin, 1730, L.
Withers, Wm., 1667.
Witte, Ludwig, 1815, L.
Witter, Sam., 1682, St.
Wood, Henry, 1786, L.
Wood, John, D.D., 1612, '18, M.
Wood, Rob., 1551, St.
Wood, Rob., 1701, M.
Wood, Thos., 1592, '96, M.
Wood, William, 1744, L.
Wood, Wm., 1589, R. W.
Woodford, John, 1669, L.
Woodward, Robt., 1699, L.
Wright, John, 1743, L.
Wright, Wm., 1772, L.
Wycherley, Thos., 1626, '27, M.
Wynn, John, 1763, St.
Wynsley, John, 1525, R. W. (Wynslaye.)

Yates, Lawrence, 1757, St.
Yates, Rich., 1783, St.
Yorke, Edward, 1772, R. W.

INDEX TO THE NAMES GIVEN IN THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE TOUCHES AT PEWTERERS' HALL

E. A., 216.
I. A., 203, 204, 238.
L. A., 202.
R. A., 202, 205.
S. A., 201.
T. A., 205.
W. A., 200, 201, 202, 209, 214.
Adams, Henry, 216.
——, L., 210.
Adkinson, W., 207.
Alderson, Geo., 225, 244.
——, John, 231.
Alderwick, Rich., 228, 232.
Allen, John, 207.
Ames, Thos., 240.
Annison, ——, 228.
Appleton, Henry, 228.
——, John, 232.
Arnott, Thos., 234.
Ashley, ——, 244.
——, T. J. T., 244.
——, Thos., 244.
Atlee, W., 220.

B. B., 203.
D. B., 206, 223.
F. B., 219 (with arms of Bainbrigge).
H. B., 201, 210.
I. B., 202, 207, 221.
J. B., 212.
R. B., 205, 241.
S. B., 200, 220.
T. A. O. B. (?), 218.
T. B., 201, 202, 203, 217, 219, 222, 235.
W. B., 202, 216, 217, 234.
Babb, Bernard, 222.
Bache, Rich., 233.
Bacon, Benj., 229.
——, Geo., 227.
——, Thos., 240.
Bampton, Wm., 227.
Barber, Nath., 232.
Barlow, John, 221.
Barnes, Thos., 243.
——, Wm., 232.
Barnett, Robt., 233.
Barton, Dan., 211, 222.
Baskerville, ——, 234.
——, John, 218.
Bathus, Wm., 243.
Beaumont, W., 236.
Beckon, Thos., 223.
Beeston, Geo., 227.
Belson, John, 225.
[Benn]ett, John, 235.
Bennett, Thos., 222.
——, Wm., 230.
—— and Chapman, 230.
Benson, John, 226.
Betts, Jonas, 212.
Bishop, Jas., 240.
Blackwell, Dan., 212.
Blenman, John, 241.
Boardman, Thos., 226.
Bonkin, Jona[than], 211, 238.
Boost, Jas., 228.
Borman, Robt., 223.
Bothwell, Jonas, 207.

Bowden, Jos., 221.
Bowler, Sam., Salter, 232.
Bowley (? Bowles), Henry, 229.
Boyden, Benj., 219.
Bradstreet, Edw. (?), 241.
——, Rich., 242.
Brastead, H., 220.
Brave[ll], Wm., 218.
Brettell, Jas., 218.
Brill, Henry, 220.
Brodhurst, Jonathan, 239.
Bromfield, John, 226.
Brown, John, 230, 233.
——, Rich., 243.
——, Robert, 230.
Browne, Benj., 242.
——, Martin, 220.
—— and Swanson, 230.
Bryan, Egerton, 208.
Buckby, Thos., 223.
Budden, David, 206, 223.
Bull, John, 203.
Bullock, Jas., 228.
Burford and Green, 227.
Burges, Thos., 223.
Burton, John, 205.
——, Luke, 213.
——, Wm., 201.
Buttery, Thos., 229.

C., 201, 202.
A. C., 217.
B. C., 203, 205, 212, 214.
C. C., 207.
E. C., 234.
F. C., 218.
G. C., 206, 210.
H. C., 202.
I. C., 201, 204, 206, 211, 214, 215, 219, 222, 239, 243.
J. C. (?), 220.
L. C., 220.
M. C., 213.
N. C., 237.
P. C., 205, 222.
R. C., 226.
T. C., 201, 202, 212.
W. C., 200, 219, 243.
W. M. E. C., 230.
Cambridge, John, 217.
Canby, Geo., 220.
Carpenter, John, 238.
—— and Hamberers, 233.
Carter, Jas., 215.
——, Jos., 241.
Ca[rtwright], Thos., 237.
Cary, Thos., 216.
Castle, F., 217.
——, Jo., 211.
Cater, John, 241.
Chapman, Catesby, 239.
Claridge, Chas., 229.
——, Jos., 242.
——, Thos., 238.
Clark, W., 220.
—— and Greening, 230.
Clarke, Rich., 220.
——, Thos., 213.
——, Wm., 218, 239.
Cleeve, Alex., 241.
——, Bourchier, 228.
——, Giles, 243.
Cocks, [Samuel], 244.
Cole, Jer., 212.
——, John, 240.
——, Rich., 240.
Collier, Rich., 204, 235.
Collyer, ——, 239.
Cook, J., 218.
——, Wm., 243.
Cooke, Sam., 242.
——, Thos., 222.
—— and Freeman, 242.
Cooper, Jas., 217.
[Cormett], I., 215.
Cotton, Jonathan, 224, 234.
Co[ur]sey, John, 234.
Cowderoy, Thos., 218.
[Cow]ley, Wm., 219.
Cowling, Wm., 226.
Cox, I., 209.
——, Rich., 240.
——, Wm., 236.
Cranley, Chas., 219.

Cripps, Mark, 241.
Crook[es], Wm., 213.
Crossfield, Robt., 235.
Cudley, Robt., 236.
Cutler, T., 210.

A. D., 214.
E. D., 243.
F. D., 207.
I. D. (? I. L.), 200, 216.
L. D., 204.
P. D., 201.
R. D., 211.
T. D., 200, 205.
W. D., 202, 203, 204, 224.
Dackombe, Aquila, 226.
Deacon, Thos., 210.
Deane, Robt., 222.
de [Jersey], John, 243.
de Jersey, Wm., 229.
Digges, Wm., 222.
Dimocke, Wm., 220.
Dodson, Thos., 231.
Donne, John, 218.
——, Joseph, 241.
[Don]ne, Wm., 213.
Dove, Jo., 211.
Drinkwater, Rich., 236.
Durand, Jonas, 221.
Durnford, Fra., 208.
Dyer, L., 204, 237.
——, Rich., 221.

B. E., 201, 206.
C. E. (? C. R.), 201.
G. E., 201.
I. E., 209, 237, 239.
J. E., 222.
R. E., 212, 230.
T. E., 204.
W. E., 202, 218.
Edwards, John, 228.
Elderton, John, 219.
Ellicott, Barth., 225
Ellis, Samuel, 239.
——, Wm., 240.
Ellwood, Wm., 221.
Elwick, Henry, 240.
Engley, Arthur, 236.
Erle, Mabb, 207.

A. F., 200, 203.
F. F., 212.
H. F., 204, 209.
I. F., 200, 201, 242, 244.
L. F., 201.
R. F., 211.
S. F., 209.
T. F., 201, 234.
W. F., 229, 235.
Farmer, ——, 226.
Farmer, W., 231.
Fasson, John, 228.
——, Thos., 232.
——, Wm., 229.
[F]enton, Jos., 210.
Fieldar, Henry, 236.
Fi[enn]es, Jas., 230.
Fisher, Paul, 243.
Fly, Timothy, 236.
—— and Thompson, 225.
——, Wm., 212.
Fontaine, Jas., 228.
Ford, ——, 215.
——, Abraham, 238.
F[ost]er, Benj., 234, 243.
Foster, John, 226.
French, John, 217.
Frith, Thos., 223.

B. G. (?), 205.
F. G., 202, 215.
G. G., 215.
I. G., 205, 206, 210, 214, 218, 226.
J. G. (?), 220.
R. G., 206.
T. G., 210.
W. G., 200, 211.
Gale (?), Rich., 236.
Gibbs, Wm., 244.
Giffin, Thos., 230, 236.
Gillam, Everard, 234.
Gills[on], Wm., 221.
Gi[sber]ne, John, 220.

Glover, Everard, 220.
——, Wm., and —— Annison, 227.
Godfrey, Jos. H., 244.
Gogwin, Thos., 236.
[G]onville, John, 214.
Gooch, Wm., 231.
Goodman, Harry, 219.
Gosl[er], N. (?), 214.
Gosling, Thos., 241.
Graham, Basil, 221.
[Gr]ant, N., 223.
Grays[on] and King, 238.
Gre[en], Geo., 229.
[Gre]en (?), Lewis, 206.
Greenwood, Thos., 230.
Gregge, Robt., 208.
Grendon, Dan., 225.
Grigg, Sam., 225.
Groce, Thos., 225.
Groome, W., 244.
Groves, Edw., 211.
Grunwin, Rich., 236.
Gurnell, John, 231.
Guy, Earle of Warwick, 234.
——, Samuel, 243.
Gwilt, ——, 234.

A. H., 199.
C. H., 205.
D. H., 210.
E. H., 202.
G. H., 208.
H. H., 203, 209, 235.
I. H., 200, 203, 204, 210, 212.
L. H., 220.
P. H., 203, 210.
R. H., 200, 201, 204, 207, 214.
T. H., 199, 200, 206, 210, 239.
W. H., 205, 212, 222, 236, 242.
Z. (?) H., 217.
Hagger, Stephen, Kent, 231.
Hagshaw, Rich., 233.
Hale, Geo., 209.
Halford, Simon, 242.
Hall, Wm., 204, 212, 217.
Hamilton, Alex., 243.
Hammond, Geo., 220.
[Hancoc]k, S., 214.
Hand, Sam., 208.
Hands, Rich., 243.
Handy, Wm., 225.
Happen, Robt., 221.
Harris, Jabez, 221.
——, John, 235.
——, Wm., 228.
Harrison, Wm., 227.
Hatch, Henry, 211.
Hathaway, John, 241.
Hawkins, Thos., 229.
Hayton, John, 226.
Healey, Wm., 228.
Heath, John, 220, 237, 239.
Hey[wo]od, Wm., 221.
Highmore, Wm., 226.
Higley, Sam., 232.
Hinde, John, 231.
Hislopp, Rich., 235.
Hitchman, Robt., 225.
Hodge, R. P., 231.
Holmes, Geo., 226.
Holt, John, 228.
Home, John, 217, 228.
Hooker, J., 214.
Hooper, C., 205.
Hopkins, Thos., 222.
Hosier, Jos., 232.
Howard, Wm., 207, 226.
Hudson, John, 231.
Hulls, John, 209, 219.
——, Ralph, 207.
Hulse, Chas., 217.
Hume, Geo., 223.
Hunt, Thos., 207.
Hunt[on], Nich., 205, 214.
Hurs[t], Wm., 210.
Hux, T., 239.

D. I., 201, 220.
E. I., 209.
F. I., 203, 236.
H. I. (?), 202.
H. I., 209, 217.
I. I., 203, 204, 206, 210, 221.
N. I., 212.

P. I., 207.
R. I., 200, 206, 220, 236.
S. I., 200, 207.
T. I., 203.
W. I., 200, 202.
Ingles, Jonathan, 200.
Irving, ——, 228.
Ismpson. *Vide* Simpson.

Jackman, Nich., 223.
Jackson, Henry, 240.
——, Sam., 218.
——, John, 224.
——, Robert, 233.
Jacomb, Josiah, 208.
James, Ant. (?), 215.
Jeffery, Sam., 224.
Jefferys, Jos., 229.
Jenner, A., 231.
[Jersey], John de, 243.
Jersey, Wm. de, 229.
Johnson, Luke, 239.
—— and Chamberlain, 224.
Jones, C., 233.
——, J., 242.
——, Thos., 229.
——, Seth, 238.
Jordan, Jo., 242.
Joseph, Henry, 226.
——, Henry and Richard, 233.
Jupe, John, 225.
——, Robt., 232.

F. K., 215.
I. K., 204, 209, 214.
N. K. (? N. R.), 199.
N. K. (N. R.), 200.
T. K., 207, 241.
W. K., 211, 235.
Kenrick, John, 225.
Kent, John, 239.
Kenton, John, 218, 223.
K(?)imsted, S., 212.
King, Ja., 238.
——, John, 230.
——, Richard, 235, 238.
——, Thos., 209.
King, W. H., 233.
Kirke, Jo., 240.
Knight, Fra., 209, 213.
——, Robt., 233.
——, Sam., 237.

L. (?), 202.
A. L., 203.
E. L., 207.
F. L., 201, 211, 222.
G. L. (?), 201.
H. L., 210.
I. L., 200, 211, 215.
R. L., 199.
S. L., 204.
T. L., 203, 215.
W. L., 203.
Laffar, J., 237.
Lancaster, Alex., 239.
La[ngfo]rd, John, 238.
Langley, John, 238.
Latt, Edw., 215.
Laughton, John, 218.
Law, Sam., 231.
Lawrence, Edw., 239.
——, John, 216.
——, S., 213.
Lawson, Dan., 227.
Lea, Fra., 200.
Leach, Jonathan, 227.
——, Thos., 211, 238.
Leapidge, [Edw.], 222
——, Thos., 219, 238.
[Le]eson, John, 209.
Leggatt, Rich., 240.
Lerioch (?), Patrick, 225.
Lethard, James, 227.
Le Veux, Peter, 233.
Lindsey, J., 236.
Little, Henry, 225.
Loader, Chas., 233.
——, Jer., 205.
Lock, Robt., 211.
Lockwood, Edw., 233.
Long, Wm., 215.
Loshen, Parker, 206.
Lupton, R., 232.

C. M., 220.
E. M., 218, 219.
F. M., 203, 208.
H. M., 219.
I. M., 205, 214, 216, 222, 227, 238.
N. M., 201, 230.
P. M., 224, 240.
R. M., 200, 201, 203, 204, 215, 233, 241.
S. M., 202.
T. M., 203, 226.
W. M., 202, 207, 213, 221.
T D. N M., 243.
Mabbs, Sam., 210.
Marshall, Thos., 215.
Mart[in], John, 227.
Mason, Dan., 208.
Massam, Robt., 224.
Matthews, Jas., 240.
——, Thos., 237.
Maw, ——, 244.
Maxey, Chas., 228.
Maxted, Henry, 224.
Meadows, Wm., 237.
Merefield, Edw., 240.
M[i]ddlet[on], Thos., 208.
Miles, Sam., 240.
——, Wm., 237.
Millin, Wm., 232.
Mister, Rich., 244.
Modson, Rich., 207.
Monk, Jos., 231.
Morse, [He]len (? Ellen), 210.
——, Robert, 210, 235.
——, Wm., 211.
Moser, Roger, 244.
Munday, Thos., 229.
M[un]roe, Tristram, 223.
Murray, Wm., 224.

C. N., 204.
E. N., 204, 234.
H. N., 205.
I. N., 203, 206, 211.
W. N., 212, 238.
Nash, Edw., 239.
Nettlefold, Wm., 243.
Newham, John, 222.
Newham, Wm., 237.
Newman, Rich., 227.
Nichols, I., 216.
——, Robt., 217.
Nicholls, Wm., 216.
Norfolk, Rich., 226.
Norgrove, John, 240.
North, Geo., 221.
Norwood, Wm., 242.

C. O., 215.
E. O., 217.
I. O., 223.
Ol——, Nicholas, 223.
Olf[n]er, John, 218.
Only, Will., 209.
Osborn, John, 237.
Osborne, John, 238.

C. P. (? S. P.), 203, 234.
F. P., 204, 212, 217.
G. P., 203.
H. P., 201, 210.
I. P., 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 219, 220, 234, 235, 241.
P. P., 203.
R. P., 205, 213, 224, 225.
S. P. (? C. P.), 203, 234.
T. P., 205, 215, 222.
W. P., 202, 203, 204, 212, 221, 226.
Paddon, Thos., 216.
Page, John, 219.
Pandal, John, 239.
Paradice, Fra. 211.
Parker, Dan., 216.
——, Thos., 222.
P[arr], R., 213.
Partridge, Rich., 237.
Passton, Wm., 206.
Patience, Robt., 225.
Pattinson, Simon, 240.
Pawson, Rich., 228.
Paxton, Jas., 234.
——, John, 240.
Payne, John, 241.
Peake, Rich., 228.
Pedder, Jos., 242.

Peisley, Thos., 236, 238.
Pender, Chas., 222.
Perchard, Hellary, 235.
Perry, J., 226, 231.
Peter, John, 237.
Pettit, John, 215.
Phillips, Thos., 241, 244.
——, Wm., 228, 231, 243.
Phipps, Wm., 228.
[P]ickfat, A., 213.
Piddle, Jos., 215.
Piggott, Fra., 225.
——, John, 224.
——, Thos., 241.
Pilkington, Robt., 234.
Pitt and Dadley, 232.
—— and Floyd, 231.
Pitts, Rich., 227.
Pole, Robt., 239.
Poole, Rich., 227.
[Po]pe, Rich., 217.
Porter, Luke, 212.
Porteus, Robt. and Thos., 230.
Pott, John Wo[od], 206.
Pratt, Henry, 209.
——, Joseph, 239.
Priddle, Sam., 232.
Prince, John, 222.
Puleston, Jas., 229.

H. Q., 208.
S. Q., 208.
Quick, Edw., 226, 235.

A. R., 209, 212.
C. R. (?), 201.
C. R., 205, 208, 210, 212, 213, 216.
I. R., 220, 229.
L. R., 206.
N. R., 212.
O. R., 209.
R. R., 234.
T. R., 204, 209, 214.
W. R. (?), 204, 207, 221.
Raindell, Chas., 222.
Randall (?, —— ?), 212.
——, Robt., 228.
[Rand]all, Edw., 214.
Raper, Chrys., 204.
Rawlinson, John, 209.
Read, Isaac, 227.
Reading, Theophilus, 199.
Redknap, Peter, 236.
Redshaw, John, 208.
Relfe, Edw., 207.
Rhodes, Thos., 239.
Richards, Timotheus, 235.
Ridding, Thos., 208.
Righton, Sam., 224.
Roberts, Edw., 216.
——, Philip, 225.
——, Thos., 217.
Rogers, John, 241.
——, Phillip, 235.
Rolt, John, 238.
Rose, Sam., 222.
Rowell, Wm., 242.
[Ruddo]ck, Phil., 219.
Rudsey, Andrew, 242.

C. S., 200.
D. S., 216.
E. S., 217.
H. S., 206.
I. S., 206, 208, 212, 215, 216, 219, 223, 226, 234, 237.
J. S., 236.
R. S., 203, 206, 215, 240.
S. S., 216, 226.
T. S., 201, 202, 203, 204, 209, 214, 218, 229.
V. S., 226.
W. S., 208, 221, 223, 234, 243.
Sandys, Wm., 218, 242.
S[an]dell, Thos., 241.
Saunders, ——, 215.
——, T., 209.
Savidge, I., 214.
Sav—ol, John, 234.
Scatchard, Robt., 229.
Scattergood, John, 224.
——, Robt., 229.
——, Thos., 223, 225.
Seawell, Edw., 233.

Sedgwick, Giles, 214.
Sellon, John, 227.
Sew[dley], Edw., 235.
[S]hakle, John, 215.
Sharl, To., 210.
Sharrock, Edmund, 225.
Sheppard, Thos., 235.
Sherwin, Jos., 242.
Shortgrave, N., 217.
Shurmes, Rich., 213.
Siaw (?), John, 240.
Siblett, Henry, 214.
Sidby, Edw., 231.
Silk, Vincent, 202.
Silke, John, 199.
Simpson (?), Solomon, 221.
Skin, Thos., 208.
Skynner, Robt., 225.
Smalman, Arthur, 238.
Smalpeace, Rich., 215.
Smith, Chas., 231.
——, Geo., 213, 236.
——, Henry, 241.
——, I., 241.
——, Jas., 243.
——, Jo., 209, 223.
——, Jos., 220.
——, Rich., 211, 224.
——, Rowland, 228.
——, Sam., 241.
——, Thos., 216, 230, 231, 234.
——, Wm., 206, 219.
Smith and Leapidge, 242.
Snape, Wm., 231.
Sollet, Thos., 224.
Sonnant, E., 200.
——, R., 221.
Spackman and Grant, 235.
Spackman, Jos., 229.
——, Josh. and James, 232.
——, Joseph and Co., 233.
Sp[ateman], Sam., 242.
S[pencer], I., 223.
Spring, Pen^{ry}, 238.
——, Thos., 220.
Stanton, J., 244.
——, R., 244.
S[tea]dman, Nich., 221.
Steevens, Jas., 229.
Stevens, Philip, 236.
——, Thos., 239.
Stile[s], Jo., 217.
Stone, Howard, 221.
Stout, Alex., 225.
Striblehill, John, 211.
Sturton, Anth., 223.
Summers, John, 221.
[Surte]es, Jas., 219.
Swanson, Thos., 230.
Swift, C., 232.
——, W. C., 244.

B. T., 208.
C. T., 202, 209.
E. T., 212.
H. T., 213.
I. T., 204, 221, 234.
R. T., 204, 210.
S. T., 244.
T. T., 211.
W. T., 226.
Taudin, Jacques, 200, 213.
Taylor, Geo., 239, 240.
——, Sam., 224.
——, Thos., 206.
Teape, John, 209.
Templeman, Thos., 204.
Thompson, Thos., 230.
Tibbing (?), Wm., 212.
Tidmarsh, Angelo, 241.
——, John, 237.
[Tily]ard, Thos., 221.
Tisoe, Jas., 217, 224.
Titerton, Robt., 219.
Toms, Edw., 226.
Tonkin, Matt., 227.
Townsend, Benj., 229.
——, John, 227.
——, Wm., 235.
Townsend, J., and Reynolds, 231.
Trapp, John, 239.
Trew, Jas., 208.
Triblewell, Thos., 240.
Trout, John, 217.

Ubly, Edw., 240.
——, John, 228.
——, Thos., 226.
Underwood, Matt., 228.

G. V., 210, 237.
I. V. (? T. V.), 200, 202, 203, 217.
S. V., 204.
T. V. (? I. V.), 200, 202, 203, 217.
W. V., 211.
Vaughan, John, 229.
Vokins, B., 206.

W., 202, 218.
A. W., 202, 205, 221.
E. W., 217.
F. W., 209.
I. W., 208, 211, 216, 225, 237, 239.
L. W., 207.
M. W., 208.
R. W., 206, 218, 221.
S. W., 207.
T. W., 206, 212, 240.
W. W., 201, 202, 210, 216.
W. Wi., 214, 238.
Wadsworth, ——, 233.
Walker, John, 228.
——, Wm., 244.
Waller, Robt., 232.
Walmsley, John, 236.
Wass, Robt., 239.
Watson, Jos., 239.
Watterer, T., 214.
Watts, Jno., 241.
Webb, Thos., 237.
West, Moses, 210.
Wharram, Ralph, 230.
Wheeler, Thos., 237.
Whitaker, Benj., 218.
White, John, 229.
——, Jos., 227.
——, Philip, 233.
——, Rich., 217.
——, Wm., 228.
—— and Bernard, 239.
Whittle, Fra., 238.
Wicks, Edw., 214.
Widdowes, I., 207.
Wiggins, Abraham, 235.
Wightman, Wm., 230.
Wilks, Rich., 235.
Willett, Edw., 215.
Willey, Mary, 229.
Williams, John, 226, 242.
Wilson, Dan., 218.
Winchcombe, Thos., 219.
Wingod, John, 227.
——, Jos., 240.
Winter, Geo., 223.
Wood, H., 231.
——, R., 207.
—— and Hill, 233.
—— and Michell, 226.
Woodeson, John, 237.
W[oo]dman, Rich., 243.
Wright, Rich., 239.
——, Thos., 215.
——, Wm., 232.
Wynn, John, 227.

L. Y., 226.
Yates, Rich., 231.
Yewen, John, 222.
Yorke, Edw., 243.

INDEX

ADAM AND EVE salver, 15, 175.
Address of pewterer forbidden on ware, 48.
Adolphus, Gustavus, medallion of, 186.
Advertisement, 48.
Aiken's metal, 19.
Alliage Biberel, 25.
—— *Budi*, 25.
Allington, pewter at, 95.
Alloys, table of various, 19, 20.
Alms-dish, Flemish, a, 127.
Aluminium, a rival to Britannia metal, 5.
American pewter, 75.
Ampullae, 142, 143.
Amsterdam, Rijks Museum at, 182.
Analyses of pewter, 22, 24.
"Angell and glister, Serreng," 194.
Antiquaries, Soc. of, in Edinburgh, museum of, 140.
Antwerp, arms of, 181.
—— marks on pewter, 182.
—— Steen Museum at, 171, 181.
Appleshaw, Hants, Roman pewter found at, 160.
Appliqué work in pewter, 111, 135.
Apprentices, 34, 50.
Apprentices not to be foreigners, 50.
Aquae Neriae, pewter from, analyzed, 22.
Arabesques, 137, 182.
"Archaeologia," vol. lvi., p. 7, quoted, 160.
Archbishop of Canterbury's pewter in 1575, 71.
Argentiferous galena, 28.
Arms of the French Guild of Pewterers, 148.
Arrangement of pewterware, 8.
Art nouveau, l', 7.
"Art" pewter, so called, 7, 8.
Art-Workers' Guild, standing cup of, 63, 165.
Ashbury metal, 19.
Augsburg, a centre for pewter, 51.
Avioth (Meuse), pewter from, 177.

Backgrounds for pewter, 9.
Badges, 139.
—— for beggars, 142.
Bapst (Germain), quoted, 27, 54, 60, 146, 163, 193.
Barcelona, a tin depot, 15.
Barnard's, Mr., touch, 194.
Basin, with feet, 116, 183.
Batteurs d'etain, 148.
Bavarian pewter, 188.
Beakers, 110, 183, 186.
Beer bowls, 110.
—— measures, 179.
Beggars' badges, 142, 178.
Bénitiers, 89, 90, 177.
Bernal collection, 170.
Bertón, Joseph, pewter by, 182.
Bewdley, a centre for pewter, 51.
Bibliography of pewter, 264, 265, 266, 267.
Bidri ware, 21.
Bimbelotier (toy-maker), 83.
Birdwood, Sir George, quoted, 21.
Biringuccio, quoted, 21.
Bleeding-dishes, 79.
Blenman, John, punch of, 194.
Blood-porringers, 79.
Boileau, Etienne, quoted, 150.

Bolivia, tin mines in, 12.
Booge, 59.
Bosetus, a thirteenth-century pewterer, 176.
Bossard, M., quoted, 166.
Boston, U.S.A., a centre for pewter, 75.
Bradford Peverel, pewter at, 95.
Brateau, M. Jules, spoon belonging to, 83.
Brateau, M. Jules, work by, 173.
Breslau Museum, 136.
Briot, work by, 159, 162, 163, 175, 179.
Britannia metal, various alloys, 5, 21.
Britannia, a mark on pewter, 197.
British Museum, pewter in, 159, 160.
Broad arrow mark, 41.
Broc, 179.
Brooches, 141.
Brotherhood of Our Lady, 36.
Brussels, Musée Royale, 178.
Bryan, Hugh, pewter belonging to, 5, 89, 116, 149, 172.
Buckles, 41, 141.
Buckmaster, C. F. C., pewter belonging to, 84, 115.
Burettes, 88.
Burning on (a mode of joining pewter), 24.
Burnishers, 61.
Butchers' Guild, Ghent, candlestick of, 181.
Buttons, 41.

Cafetières, 172, 181, 184, 185.
Candleboxes, 115, 140.
Candlemoulds, 19.
Candlesticks, 89, 171, 181.
Canette, 176.
Canterbury, Archbishop of, his pewter, 71.
Cardinal's Hat, 115.
Carlisle diocese, pewter surviving in the, 98.
Carpenters' Guild of Schleitz, cup of the, 181.
Cassiterides, 12.
Casting of pewter, 58.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 16.
Centres of pewter industry, 50, 51.
Cerne Abbas, pewter at, 95.
Chalices, 85, 86, 87, 96, 161, 176, 178, 181.
Charger, with arms of Charles II., 168, 169.
Chargers, 17, 36, 40.
Chapmen, 54.
Charles I. of England, pewter of the time of, 136.
Charles II. of England, plates with arms of, 168.
Charles VI. of France, 66.
Charles VII. of France, 67.
Charm of pewter, 9.
Charter of the Pewterers' Company, 40.
Charters of the Stannaries, 30.
Chasing, 123, 124.
Chastleton, Oxfordshire, pewter at, 74.
Chaucer, quoted, 139.
Chichely, Robert, regulation of, 105.
Chop-houses still use pewter, 77, 78.
Choppines, choppineaux, 88.
Christmatories, 17, 36.
"Chronique de Reims," quoted, 86.
Church plate, 86, 87.
Cimaises, 144, 145.
City Companies, 67.
Claire soudure, 19.
Clarkson, W. H., collection of, 37.
Cleaning of pewter, 101-103.
Cleeve, Alexander, pewter by, 67, 196.
Clifford's Inn, pewter of, 68.
Cloudesley, Nehemiah, pewter made by, 172.
Cluny Museum, 139, 161, 175, 176.
Cochet, l'Abbé, quoted, 12.
Cologne Museum, 186, 187.
Cologne pewter, 187.
Colour of pewter, 8, 9, 101.
Commonwealth coins in pewter, 144.
Communion plate, 97.
—— tokens, 98, 99, 100.
Companies, City, 67.
Composition of the various alloys, 10.
Confiscation of pewter, 41, 105.

Conversion of church pewter, 96.
Cornwall, tin mines in, 12.
Corryer, Edouard, quoted, 87, 141, 142.
Counterfett dishes, 78.
Counterfeit pewter, rules as to, 193.
Counterpane, 156.
Craft of pewterers, 36.
Cri or cry of pewter, 16, 18, 20, 28.
Croft-Lyons, Col., pewter belonging to, 43, 45, 80, 147, 162, 170, 171, 172.
Crooked Lane men, 54.
Crowned letters, 197.
Crucifixes, 92.
Cruets, for sacramental use, 36, 88.
Cruet stands, 138, 172, 181.
Cymaise, 144.
Cymarre, 144.

Danske pots, 110, 115.
Darcel, M., Catalogue raisonné quoted, 135.
"Deceivable" hawkers, 3, 44, 46, 54.
Decline in use of pewter, 75.
Decoration with gold or silver, 153.
"Decretum Gratiani," 85.
De Keghel family, marks of, 180.
Delaune, Etienne, work after, 164, 186.
Demiani, Hans, of Leipzig, quoted, 137, 138.
Dering, Elizabeth, name of, 170.
Design, suitability of, 9.
Deterioration of pewter, 49.
Difficulties in repairing pewter, alleged, 119.
Dishes of six sizes, 40.
Disuse of pewter, cause of, 4.
Doll's-house furniture, 83, 84.
Dresser, a Somersetshire, 172.
Drinking cups, 105.
Drinking vessels, 105, 184.
Dry goods measured in pewter vessels, 112.
Dugdale's "Traveller," quoted, 42
Dutch chalice, a, 122, 123.
Dutch pewter, 182.
Dyer, Lawrence, pewter made by, 172.

Ear-dishes, 171.
Earl's Barton, pewter at, 94.
Ecuelles, 35.
Edinburgh marks on pewter, some, 253.
Edward I., charter of, 30; pewter belonging to, 66.
Edward III., ordinances in reign of, 31.
Edward IV., charter given by, 40.
Edward VI., Act of Parliament as to beggars, 142.
Edward the Confessor, badge of, 139.
Egyptians, early, users of tin, 11.
Electro-plating of pewter, 6, 132.
Ellis, F. R., Rev., pewter belonging to, 125.
Ellis, Samuel, pewter by, 67, 75, 196.
Elizabethan spoon, 82.
Elizabeth, Queen, letters patent of, 46.
Emery cloth, use of, 102.
Enamel, applied to pewter, 136, 159, 163.
Endérlein, work of, 163, 175, 177, 179.
"Engine," an, for making spoons, 81.
Englefield, Mr., quoted, 62.
Engleheart, Rev. R. G., find of pewter by, 160.
English pewter, 21, 38, 50, 52; prohibited abroad, 50.
Engraved pewter, 167, 179.
Engraving, 122.
Ephraim pints, 115.
Erasmus, pewter effigy of, 139.
Esquelles, 35.
Etain mort, 11.
Estain pur, 11.
Etain sonnant, 25.
Etymology of pewter, tin, 10, 11.
Evenley, flagons at, 92.
Ewers, 13, 27, 120, 175, 181.
Exeter, silver hall-mark of, 197.
Ezekiel, xxvii. 12 (quoted), 11.

Fairfax, Sir William, his pewter, 72.
Fairs, for pewter, 42.
Feast-vessels, 69.
Ferdinand II. on a Kaiserteller, 160, 176 187.

Ferdinand III. on a Kaisterteller, 160, 187.
Fine pewter, 17, 35.
Fines for various offences, 194, 195.
Fioravanti, quoted, 19.
Flagons, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96; German, 111.
Flanders, pewter centres in, 51.
Flötner, Peter, lead plaques by, 16, 164.
Fluted pewter, 135.
Font-basins, 91.
Font-ewers, 91.
Fonts, 91.
Ford, Abraham, his touch, 194.
Foreign pewterers, 255.
Foreign pewter-marks, some, 255.
Foreign workmen, 38, 46, 49, 50.
Foreigners not to be apprentices, 45-50.
Forgeais, M., quoted, 143.
Forged pewter, 44.
Forks, 41, 182.
Fosdyke, church plate from, 162.
Frampton, G., pewter belonging to, 73, 111, 116, 140.
France, centre of pewter industry in, 51.
Franks collection, 159.
Freemen, guild of, 36; list of women admitted as, 53.
French pewter, 66.
French pewterers, thirteenth to eighteenth century, 257.

Gadroon ornament, 181.
Galena, argentiferous, 28, 29.
Galvanized iron, use of, 4.
Gand, *see* Ghent.
Gardenier, Jan, 183.
Gardner, J. Starkie, quoted, 30.
Garnish, a, 92.
Gatesbury, pewter formerly at, 96.
Gay, "Gloss. Arch.," quoted, 152.
German pewter, 119.
German silver, a rival of pewter, 5.
Germany, centres of industry in, 51.
Ghent Museum, 57, 180, 181.
Ghent pewterers and their marks, 180.
Gilding applied to pewter, 131, 132.
Goddard, 115.
Goddard, Rev. C., pewter of, 129.
Goldsmiths' Company, hall-marks of, 191, 197.
—— ——, pewter of, 67.
Gothic treatment of medieval pewter, 188.
Goudge, R., his touch, 194.
Gowland, W., analyses of Roman pewter, 22.
"Grande Encyclopédie," La, 142.
"Gratiani, decretum," 85.
Gris de perle colour of pewter, 8.
Guild cups, 119, 177, 180, 181, 183.
Guildhall Museum, 68, 139.

Haarlem Museum of Arts and Crafts, 185, 186.
Hall, Thomas, his touch, 194.
Hammer and a crown, a punch, 194.
Hammermen, 34 note, 149.
Hanaps, *see* Guild cups.
Hancock, Samuel, his touch, 192.
Handles, cast hollow, 58.
Handles, S and C shaped, 162.
Hapsburg, Electors of the House of, 187.
Harrison, quoted, 12, 13, 14, 19, 52, 67, 68, 69, 78, 107.
Harscher, Martin, work of? 28, 178.
Hartwell, William, touch of, 194.
Harvey, Lady, pewter belonging to, 78, 197.
Havard's "Dict. de l'Ameublement," 60, 61.
Hawkesbills, 110.
Hawkers, 3, 44, 45, 46, 54, 156.
Hazlitt, "Livery Companies of the City of London," 32.
Heal, A., jun., pewter of, 130.
Heart-cases, 88.
Hebrew lettering on pewter, 183.
Henry VII., Act of Parliament of, 42, 189, 191.
Henry VIII., Act of Parliament of, 42 44; rule as to his pewter, 70.
Herbert, "History of the Livery Companies," quoted, 67, 105.
Herodotus, quoted, 12.
Hesiod, 12.

Higham Ferrers, flagon at, 132.
Hill, Lord Marcus, pewter camp-service of, 78, 197.
Hiring of new pewter forbidden, 69.
Hiring of old pewter, 69.
History, 10-29.
Hogarth, engravings after, on pewter, 167.
Hollow-ware, 41, 156; marking-irons for, 189.
Home, John, pewter by, 75.
Horcheimer, Nicholas, of Coblenz, 137, 186, 187.
Hoskyns, Sir Thomas, his pewter, 72.
Hunting-flask, 186.

Indentations, to remove, 103, 104.
Inkstands, 145, 146, 147.
Inlay work with pewter, 132, 133.
Inn, Clifford's, 68.
Inn, Staple, pewter of, 68.
Inns of Court, 67.
Inventories of pewter, 68, 72, 73, 74, 92, 132, 144.
Iron, in pewter alloys, 24, 25.
Isabella of Bavaria, her pewter, 3, 69.
Italian pewter, 178.
Italy, pewter industry in, 52.
Iwerne Minster, pewter at, 95.

James II. coins, pewter, 144.
Japanese pewter, 18.
Jean de Jeaudun, 66.
Jehan de Montrousti, 3, 66.
Jehan Goupil, 67.
Jewish ceremonial dishes, 178, 182.
"Joggled" ornamentation, 122.
"Journal d'un voyage à Paris," quoted, 71.
Jurandes, privileges of the, abolished, 75.

Kaiserteller, 25, 70, 160, 167, 176, 178, 182, 186, 187.
Karel, an Augsburg pewterer, 51.
Karsten's process, 28.
Kaspa, 12.
Kastira, 12.
Khespet, 12.
King's College, Cambridge, pewter at, 67.
Kirkby Ireleth, pewter at, 95.
Kitchen, a German, restored, 77 188.
Knife test for pewter, 28.
Koch, Melchior, 29.

Lacquering of pewter, 132.
Lalton, pewter formerly at, 96.
Lamp, for night use, 171.
Lanx, a, in the British Museum, 160.
Lathe, as used by pewterers, 60.
Lavabos, 94, 115.
Lea, Francis, a toy-maker, fined, 83.
Lead, etc., 16.
Lethaby, W., on leadwork, quoted, 12, 14.
Lettering, punched in pewter, 177, 197, 198.
Lever, 97, 172.
Ley or lea metal, 18.
Liège pewter marks, 179.
Lily-pots, limbecks, 36, 47.
Limoges pewterers, a rule of, 152.
Lithographic stone for moulds, 56, 139.
Lobsinger, Hans, 29.
Lockington, flagon at, 96.
Loggerheads, 147.
Louis XIII. gives statutes to pewterers, 152.
Louis XIV. confiscates silver plate, 75.
Louis XV. style, pewter of, 184.
Louis XVI. style, pewter of, 184.
Louvre, Musée du, 137, 177
Lubenham, flagon from, 96.

Maîtres de forge, 148.
Malacca, a tin centre, 12.
Manufacture, methods of, 57, 58, 59, 60.
Marine store dealers, 4.
Marking of pewter, 42, 153, 156, 157.
Marks of the de Keghel family, 180.
Marlborough, Duke of, medallion of 183.
Marseille, a tin depôt, 14.
Masterpieces, 149, 152.
Maxey, Charles P., his touch, 194
Measures made of pewter, 112.
Measures, standard, 151.

Memmingen, plate with arms of, 160.
"Ménagier de Paris," quoted, 70, 71.
Mercurial solder, 23.
Methods of manufacture, 55.
Michelet le Breton, 3, 67.
Midhurst, church plate from, 96, 162.
Milton Lilburne, pewter flagon at, 111.
Miscellaneous marks on pewter.
Modern pewter-ware, 117, 173.
Mons Argentarius, 16.
Mons, pewter mark, 193.
Monstrances, 92.
Montpellier, rule of the pewterers of, 152.
Mont Saint-Michel, pewter at, 87.
Morgan, Osborne, collection, 166.
Moulds, 6, 9, 55, 56, 57, 139, 180; preparation of, 56, 57.
Moulds of the York pewterers, 55, 56.
Musée Plantin, Antwerp, 133.
—— Royale, Brussels, 142, 178.
Museum, British, 159, 160.
—— Brussels, 142, 178.
—— Cluny (Paris), 139, 161, 175, 176.
—— Germanisches (Nuremberg), 120, 135, 136, 187, 188.
—— Ghent, 57, 180, 181.
—— Reading, 67.
—— Rijks (Amsterdam), 146, 172.
—— Victoria and Albert (South Kensington), 161 *sq.*
Mustard-pot, 182.

Navarro, A. F. de, collection of, 2, 23, 31, 33, 72, 99, 107, 115, 128, 133, 145.
Netherlands, pewter industry in the, 51.
Netherwood, John, touch granted to, 194.
Nicholas le Peautrer, 10.
Nicholson, Robert, pewter by, 75.
Night-lamp and stand, 171, 182.
Night work forbidden, 150, 153.
Niven, W., pewter belonging to, 7, 116, 143.
Norfolk, Richard, pewter made by, 196.
Norman, Philip (quoted), 136.
Northampton, Marquis of, 72.
Northumberland Housebook, 69.
Nuremberg Chronicle, 146.
—— Museum, 120, 135, 136, 187, 188.
—— pewter, 186, 187.
—— pewterers, 1544-1633, 261-263.
—— regulations, 154.

Obstinate stains and marks, 101.
Octagonal plate, 184.
Octagon-shaped tankard, 134.
Oiling of pewter, 101.
Onslow, Lord, pewter formerly belonging to, 168, 169.
Ordinances of the Pewterers (1348), 31, 19, 114; of Nuremberg (1576), 153.
"Ordinationes Peuderariorum," 11, 31, 154.
"Ordonnances des Rois de France," 141.
Organ pipes, 89.
Ornamentation of pewter, 122; by engraving, 122; by joggled work, 122; by wriggled work, 122; by stippling, 122; by repoussé work, 122, 126; by chasing, 123, 124; by punched or stamped ornament, 124, 128; by relief work, 125; by piercing, 127; by pricked pattern, 127, 128; by fluting the vessel, 135; by pointillé work, 183; by adding other metals, 184.
Osborne Morgan collection, 166.
Over-elaboration fatal to good work, 9.
Oxalic acid, use of, 103.

Painting of pewter, 132.
Palmer's shell, 139.
Paris pewterers, regulations of the, 150, 151.
Patens, 33, 100, 147.
Pattinson's process, 28.
Peak, 36.
Pedlars, 38.
Pechkrüge, 111, 179.
Pectoral plaques, 87, 88.
Peg-tankards, 113.
Pepper-pot, 182.
Peter, Jean, work by, 178.
Pettiver, Wm., his touch, 194.

Pewter, electro plating of, 6, 132; colour of, 8, 9, 101; fine, 17; black metal, 18; ley, or lea, 18; trifle, 18; hard-metal, 19; modern French, 19; plate-metal, 19; superior, 19; tin and temper, 19; alloys of best (French), 20; forged, 45; oiling, 101; cleaning, 102; used in taverns, 105, 106; inlays used for, 133; hall-marks, 196.
Pewterers' Company, 30, 36, 40, 41, 196; history of, by Welch, 30; list of freemen of, up to 1824, 269-279; touch-plates of, 189.
Phoenicians, the, 12; transcribed, 199.
Picroft, W., his touch changed, 194.
Pie-coffins, 115.
Pierced work, 127.
Plantin Museum, Antwerp, 133.
Platters, 36, 40.
Plautus, referred to, 11.
Pliny, referred to, 11.
Pointillé work, 129, 183.
Polishing-lathe, use of, 102.
Porringers, 3, 78, 171, 183.
Portcullis, or trellis, 195.
Porter, Thos., his touch, 194.
Potiers de rond, les, 148.
Potiers d'étain 148.
Potiers menuisiers, les, 149.
Pot-lids, stamping of, 108, 109.
Poullett, Sir Rich., his pewter, 72.
Pre-emption, right of, 40.
Pricked ornament, 127, 128.
Privy Council appealed to, 191.
Puddlelow, pewter at, 95.
Punch-ladles, 81.
Punched ornament, 124, 128.
Purchase of a lid, or thumb-piece, 184.
Purling, Major, 29.
Putty-powder, 103.
Pyxes, 92.

Quaighs, 80, 81, 113.
Queen's College, Oxford, pewter of, 67, 196.
Queen's metal, 19.

Rapport, pièces de, 152.
Raunds, pewter at, 97.
Ravens' bills, 110.
Reading Museum, pewter in, 67.
Recasting old work, 3, 4.
Relief work, 125, 187.
"Reliquary, The," quoted, 161, 177, 196.
Repoussé work, 122, 126.
Revival of pewter, 4, 5.
Richard II., pewter trade in time of, 38.
Rijks Museum, Amsterdam, 146, 172.
Riley, "Memorials of London" (quoted), 31.
Rings, 141.
Roman letters, plain, ordered, 195.
Roman pewter in the British Museum, 160; analysis of, 22.
Roman station at Brough, 12.
Rose, a, crowned, 192.
Rose and crown, 180, 193, 194.
Rotten-stone, use of, 102.
Ruprecht, Sebaldus, 28.
Ruremond, pewter marks of, 185.
Rymer's "Foedera," quoted, 146.

S. Bernardin of Siena, pilgrim's medal of, 178.
S. Denis, badge of, 140.
S. Hubert, badge of, 139.
S. James of Compostella, badge of, 139.
S. Jean, badge of, 140.
S. Katharine Cree, pewter at, 136.
S. Margaret Pattens, pewter at, 136.
S. Martin, Wonersh, pewter at, 136.
S. Michael, badges of, 139.
S. Nicholas, 140.
S. Thomas à Becket, badge of, 139.
S. Veronica, on a bénitier, figure of, 177.
Sadware, 41, 76.
Salière in Cluny Museum, 161.
Saltcellars (1759-84), 160, 176.
Salvers, 78.
Sample-plates of pewter, 154.
Sands, —, his touch, 194.
Saragossa, pewter found at, 177.

Saumons of pewter, 195.
Scalemakers, 153.
Schenk-kannen, 185.
Scotch pewter, 97, 98, 112.
" Scouring " of pewter, 103.
Scripture subjects, as decoration, 159, 167, 176, 179, 180, 186, 187.
Sealing of pots in 1423, 105.
Search of workshops, 32, 33, 154.
Search, right of, 40, 41, 49.
Serpentine, mounted in pewter, 184.
Shaston S. Peters, pewter at, 95.
Sheppard's, Mr., touch, 194.
Shoemakers' Guild, cup of, 164.
Shoppee collection, 28, 162, 165.
Siamese coins of pewter, 144.
Silver pewter, 28.
Silver touch-mark on pewter, 191.
Silvering of pewter, 132, 182.
Silvorum, 29.
Snuff-boxes, 115.
Soft solders, various formulae, 23.
Solders, various formulae, 23.
Spain, once rich in tin ore, 15; pewter industry in, 51.
Spear-grater, 61.
Spinning of pewter, 59.
Spoon-making, a humble branch of the trade, 81.
Spoons, 41, 80.
Spout pots, 110.
Squillery, officers of the, 70.
Stagnarini, 3, 52.
Stamped ornament, 124, 128.
Standardization of pewterware, 40.
Standard measures, 151.
Standing pot, 93.
Standing cup, 120.
Staple Inn, pewter of, 68.
Staples, Alderman, 64.
Statutes of the Streets against annoyances, 34.
Steel, tinned, the use of, 4, 5.
Steen Museum, Antwerp, 171, 181.
Still-rooms, 116.
Stippling, 122.
Stone, Mr., complaints by, 191.
Stoneware, with pewter mounts, 108 109, 188.
Stoups, 93.
Stow, quoted, 34.
Stoy, Sebaldus, work by, 186.
Structural weakness in pewter, 118, 119.
Sturge, M. E., " Three Centuries in N. Oxfordshire," 74.
Sturminster Marshall, pewter at, 95.
Sugar-sifters, 185.
Swage, 59.
Swiss Cantons, arms of, on a plate, 173.

Table-fountains, 115.
Tankards, 27, 28, 149, 170, 183, 184.
Tappit hens, 112, 113.
Tarshish, 14.
Tartessus, 14.
Taudin, Jacques, 48, 49.
Tea-caddies, 183, 186.
" Temperantia " salvers, 17, 159, 162, 163, 175, 177, 179, 186.
Tests of quality of pewter, 26, 27, 28.
Thomas, F. Inigo, pewter of, 59.
Thumb-piece, 184, 185.
Thurndells, 110.
Tin, qualities of, 16.
Tinkers, 38.
Tinned steel, use of, 4, 5.
Tobacco-box, 117.
Tokens, 139.
Tombelaine, pewter badges from, 141.
Tools used by pewterers, 60, 61, 62.
Torigny, Robert de, tomb of, 87.
Touch-marks, 189, 190, 191; for bad pewter, 53; transcribed, 199 *sqq.*
Touches, borrowing of, 194.
Touch-plates, in Pewterers' Hall, 189; in Ghent Museum, 180.
Townsend and Compton, moulds of, 58; pewter by, 75.
Townsend, C. Harrison, pewter belonging to, 53.
Toys, 41, 82, 83, 84; Roman, 82.
Trade-corporations in France, abolished, 75.
Tradesmen's tokens, 144.

Travelling pewterers, 3.
Treene, 10.
Trifle, 18, 19.
Triflers, 41.
Tudor rose, as an ornament, 78, 113, 171.
Turning-lathe, type of, 60.
Type-metal, 22.
Tyrol, pewter-work from the, 53, 188.

Universities, pewter at the, 67.

Vauquelin's analysis of French pewter, 19.
Venice, a centre of the pewter industry, 15, 21.
Verbeckhoven collection, 181.
Vermeersch collection, 164.
Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, 161 *sq.*

Wall-lavabos, 115.
Warde, Rich., punch of, 194.
Warren, E. P., pewter belonging to, 39, 117, 124, 135, 138.
Weak points in pewter, 96, 118, 119.
Weights, false, 43.
Welch, C., "History of Pewterers' Company," 30, 32, 36, 40, 41, 42, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55 65, 76, 81, 83, 101, 108, 109, 110, 132, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195.
Werrington, pewter at, 94.
Whalley Abbey, pewter formerly at, 92.
Whitening, use of, 102.
Widows as pewterers, 152; in France, 54.
William and Mary, pewter coins of, 144.
Wills containing references as to pewter, 68.
Wilson, H., on *L'Art Nouveau*, 7.
Winchester quarts and pyntes, 110.
Winterborne St. Martin, pewter at, 95.
Women pewterers, London, 53; York, 53.
Workmen, London ordinances, as to, 31-35.
"Wriggled" ornamentation, 122.
Wyke Regis, pewter at, 95.

X, a quality mark, 192, 193.

Yeomanry, or freeman, 36.
York pewterers, 31, 155, 156, 157.
York pewter, marks on, 253.

Zinc, the use of, 4, 20.
Zinn, 11.
Zinngiesserzinn, 11.
Zinn-stahl, 121.

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